SHORTER GRAMMARS

DHARUMBAL

THE LANGUAGE OF ROCKHAMPTON, AUSTRALIA

ANGELA TERRILL

Dharumbal: the language of Rockhampton, Australia

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List of abbreviations

ABL	Ablative case
ABS	Absolutive case
ACC	Accusative case
CAUS	Causative
CJ	Conjugation marker
du	dual
ERG	Ergative case
FAR.PAST	Far Past tense
GOAL	Goal case
IMPER	Imperative
INSTR	Instrumental case
INTR	Intransitiviser
LOC	Locative case
NOM	Nominative case
NP	Noun Phrase
NPAST	Non-Past Tense
OBJ	Object
PAST	Past Tense
PERL	Perlative case
pl	plural
POSS	Possessive case
PRIV	Privative case
PURP	Purposive
RECIP	Reciprocal
REFL	Reflexive
sg	singular

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1 *Preface for Darumbal people and non-linguists*

This is a book about Dharumbal, the language of the Rockhampton area of Queensland, Australia. The book is based on what is known about Dharumbal, both from Dharumbal people in and around Rockhampton today, and from old written documents on Dharumbal language. The purpose of this book is to make available information on the Dharumbal language to members of the Dharumbal community. While most of this book describes the language in technical linguistic terms, the purpose of this preface is to explain a bit about the Dharumbal language, and how to use this book, for people who are not linguists. The next sections explain how to pronounce and spell Dharumbal words. After this comes a short explanation on how to make sentences in Dharumbal. The last section of the preface is for those readers who want to know more, and it explains how to use the rest of the book.

1.1 How to pronounce Dharumbal words

Dharumbal is a very different language from English. It uses many different sounds which are not used in English, and it is pronounced in a very different way than English. Because of this, it is sometimes hard to write down Dharumbal words using the English spelling system.

There are lots of different ways to write down the sounds of a language, but the type of spelling system chosen can make it easier or harder to read and pronounce words. One way to make the spelling system easy to understand is to make sure that each sound in the language is represented by a different letter. One sound in the language should be written with only one symbol. Another thing that makes a spelling system easy to use is if it is consistent: that is, if the same sound is always written with the same symbol every time it appears.

The spelling system used in this work is a bit different from spelling systems used for other languages. It uses some of the same letters as the English spelling system, but it also uses some combinations of letters which have a special meaning in Dharumbal. It aims to be easy to use, because it has a unique symbol for all the important sounds in Dharumbal, and it is consistent in using the same symbol for the same sound, every time.

The alphabet used to write Dharumbal in this work contains the following symbols:

a, b, d, dh, g, i, k, l, m, n, nh, ng, p, r, rr, rh, t, th, u, w, y

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Even though some of these sounds are written with two letters, (like *dh, th, nh, ng, rr* and *rh*), each one is pronounced as a single sound. The next section explains how these sounds are pronounced in Dharumbal.

1.1.1 Vowels

There are three vowels in Dharumbal: *a*, *i*, *u*.

a is pronounced like the sound in the English words

f**a**ther, st**a**r, **u**nder, m**o**ther

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

bakul 'leg'
gara 'spider'

i is pronounced like the sound in the English words

h**i**t, w**i**n, **i**nch, p**ee**l

Dharumbal words with this sound include:

balgi 'good'
gin.gil 'woman'

u is pronounced like the sound in the English words

p**u**t, sh**ou**ld, l**oo**k, c**oo**l (NOT as in h**u**t)

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

balgun 'big'
bulari 'two'

1.1.2 Consonants

There are eighteen consonant sounds in Dharumbal:

b, d, dh, g, k, l, m, n, nh, ng, p, r, rr, rh, t, th, w, y.

b is pronounced like the sound in the English words

big, a**b**le

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

birra 'fall'
dibin 'whistler duck'

d is pronounced like the sound in the English words

do, o**dd**

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

dukul 'thirsty'
gandali 'star'

dh is a sound which does not occur in English. It is pronounced a bit like English *d*, but with the tongue sticking out a little between the teeth, a bit like the way the tongue is in the *th* sound in English 'this'. Even though this sound is written with two letters, it is just one sound. Every time d and h occur together in a word, the word should be pronounced with this sound dh.

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

dharum 'no'
Dharumbal 'the name of the language'
gadhba 'east'

g is pronounced like in the English words

give, bi**g** (NOT like in **g**iraffe)

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

gakarr 'moon'
galagan 'good'

k is pronounced like in the English words

kill, li**k**e

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

waka 'knee'
dhukirri 'carpet snake'

l is pronounced like in the English words

like, si**ll**y

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

balban 'mangrove'
yamal 'rain'

m is pronounced like in the English words

much, sla**m**

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

gami 'grandmother'
mil 'eye'

n is pronounced like in the English words

nose, wi**nn**ing

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

munu 'lip'
mindara 'old man'

nh is a sound which does not occur in English. It is pronounced a bit like English *n*, but with the tongue sticking out a little between the teeth, a bit like the way the tongue is in the *th* sound in English 'this'. Even though this sound is written with two letters, it is just one sound. Every time n and h occur together in a word, the word should be pronounced with this sound nh.

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

nhaldu 'kangaroo rat'
wanhbirr 'little'

ng is pronounced like in the English words

si**ng**, ha**ng**er, lo**ng**

This sound often occurs at the beginning of Dharumbal words, which never happens in English. It is sometimes a bit difficult for people used to speaking English to produce this sound. Even though this sound is written with two letters, it is just one sound.

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

ngiri 'cry'
mungayi 'crow'

p is pronounced like in the English words

ha**pp**y, sha**p**e

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

mupu 'ant'
apa 'fly'

r is pronounced like in the English words

run, hu**rr**y

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

rilu 'bone'
gara 'spider'

rr does not occur in English. It is a 'rolled r', a bit like in Scottish accents. It is written with two letters but it is just one sound. Any time you see rr in a Dharumbal word, it means this rolled rr sound.

Some Dharumbal words with rr in them:

barragu 'over there'
dhakarr 'kick'

rh is another r-sound which does not occur in English. It is a bit like the rr, because it is rolled, but it is a more harsh and vibrant sound than rr. Again, even though it is spelt with two letters, this is just one sound in Dharumbal. Any time you see rh in a Dharumbal word, it refers to this Dharumbal sound.

Some Dharumbal words with rh in them:

mirhi 'dog'
barhi 'stone'

t is pronounced like in the English words

wa**t**er, si**tt**ing

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

butu 'buttocks'
gatal 'scrub'

th is a sound in Dharumbal which does not occur in English. It is pronounced with the tongue sticking between the teeth slightly, a bit like th in the English word 'this'. Even though it is written with two letters, it is just one sound.

w is pronounced like in the English words

water, sno**w**ing

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

gurawura 'turtle'
wagarr 'tomahawk'

y is pronounced like in the English words

young, sa**y**ing

Dharumbal examples of this sound include:

yaku 'water-lily'
wuyiru 'brother'

1.1.3 Combinations of sounds

Some common combinations of sounds look a bit strange in this spelling system, but if you break down the word into the symbols written out in the last section, it is easy to pronounce even long letter combinations. Here are some combinations which at first look strange:

ngg this is a combination of ng and g. It is pronounced like English fi**ng**er (NOT like in si**ng**er). Some Dharumbal words with this combination in them are:

gin.gil 'woman'
rungga 'saltwater eel'

n.g the dot in this combination is to show that these sounds should be pronounced separately (n plus g), not together (as in ng). This combination sounds a bit like in the English fu**n** **g**ame. Some Dharumbal words with this combination are:

bin.gi 'bottle tree'
bin.girr 'hear'

nhdh this looks complicated, but it is just a combination of nh and dh. Some Dharumbal words with this combination are:

gunhdhurr 'death adder'
danhdha 'wrist'

1.2 Spelling in Dharumbal

This section explains a bit about the spelling system used here for spelling Dharumbal words.

1.2.1 Why are some words spelt in many different ways?

You might notice in different sources of information on Dharumbal, that words and names which seem to refer to the same thing are often spelt differently. Mostly, if these names are said out loud, each spelling would sound about the same. So why are there often so many different spellings, and which spelling is the right one?

The reason why words are often found spelt differently is because Dharumbal contains some sounds which are very different from the sounds in English, and it is very difficult for English speakers to know how to write some of these sounds. This is because often there are no letters in the English alphabet to represent them.

The sounds in Dharumbal which do not occur in English are those which are written here as *dh, th, nh, rr* and *rh*. Even though these sounds are written with two letters, they each represent only one sound. The section on pronunciation (§1.1) explains how these sounds are pronounced.

Another sound which often causes a problem is the one which is often written *ng*, or sometimes *ŋ*. We have this sound in English, for example, at the end of the word 'sing'. We write it *ng*. But in Dharumbal, like in many Aboriginal languages, this sound comes at the start of many words, like in *ngamu* 'uncle'. For people who are used to only speaking English, this is very difficult to pronounce, and it is also very difficult to hear. Mostly people don't hear it at all, or else mishear it as *n*, so they might hear *namu*, instead of *ngamu*.

Another difference from English is that Dharumbal has three different types of r-sounds. One, which is written here as *rr*, is called a trill, and is a rolled r like in Scottish accents. The second is like the sound we have in English, for example, in the word 'red'. The third is *rh*, like a harsher rolled r. Fluent Dharumbal speakers would know that these are three separate sounds in Dharumbal, but English speakers would hear the three types of r and not realise they are three very different sounds. Most people, therefore, would write them using the same symbol, even though in Dharumbal they are completely different, and should be written with three different symbols. Here are three words showing the different types of r-sounds, which are all different in Dharumbal:

dharha	'leg'
yara	'very'
yarra	'man'

Linguists are trained to recognise these sounds, and people who speak the language know they are different sounds to the sounds in English, but as many of the people who have written on the Dharumbal language through the last hundred or so years had not been trained linguists, and did not speak Dharumbal, often they could not hear many of these different sounds, and if they did hear that the sounds were different from English, they did not know how to write them. The alphabet used for English is difficult to use for other languages, and for Dharumbal, like for many other Australian Aboriginal languages, there is no single letter for many of the sounds. This is why some sounds are written with a combination of two letters. This is a way of making the English alphabet work for Dharumbal.

Another reason why there are so many spellings of the same words and names is that each person writing Dharumbal came up with their own way of trying to represent the sounds they heard using the English alphabet. Also, often writers were not consistent, and would write the same sounds in different ways at different times.

The spelling system used in this work aims to be consistent, with the same symbol used every time, and it also recognises all of the important Dharumbal sounds, even ones which do not appear in English. Once it has been learnt, it is easy to use.

1.2.2 Which is the right spelling?

There is really no one right way to spell Dharumbal words. What is important is that all the sounds are represented, including sounds which do not occur in English, and that words are spelt consistently, so the same sound is always spelt with the same symbol. Words are spelt in this work in a way which represents all the sounds of Dharumbal, and which is completely consistent. This means that there are many differences from the other written sources, but it also means that anyone who knows the spelling system would be able to spell any word they heard, and their spelling would be the same as anyone else's, if they also knew the spelling system. It also means that anyone knowing the spelling system would be able to pronounce correctly any word they saw written in this way.

1.3 How to make sentences in Dharumbal

A language consists not just of individual words in a random order. To make proper sentences in any language, you need to know what order to put the words in and how to form the words properly to make sense. In English, if you want to say 'I want to eat a kangaroo' you can't just say 'me kangaroo wanting ate'. If you said 'me kangaroo wanting ate' you would be using the right words, but not in the right form, and people would not understand you. It is the same in Dharumbal. In Dharumbal, to form a correct sentence, you need not just the right words, but also the right forms of each word. In Dharumbal, the order that you say the words is not so important, but the exact form of the words is very important.

There are two important types of words in Dharumbal that you need to know in order to make good sentences: nouns and verbs. Nouns mostly refer to things, and verbs mostly refer to actions. In Dharumbal, nouns and verbs act very differently.

Here is a Dharumbal sentence. This sentence shows some important things about Dharumbal grammar.

Ngatha	*nginha*	*bunh.*	'I will hit you.'
I	you	will hit	

Written underneath each Dharumbal word is the English translation. *Ngatha* means 'I', *nginha* means 'you' and *bunh* means 'will hit'. So the whole sentence means 'I will hit you'.

Notice that the verb *bunh* is at the end of the sentence. This is common in Dharumbal, but word order is not so important as it is in English. Look at another sentence:

Nginda	*nganha*	*nhanga.*	'You look at me.'
you	me	look at	

You will notice that in the first sentence the word for 'I' was *ngatha* and in the second sentence the word for 'me' is *nganha*. Also, in the first sentence the word for 'you' was *nginha* but in the second sentence the word for 'you' is *nginda*. The difference is because in the first sentence 'you' is the object of the sentence, that is, the one who is being hit, and in the second sentence 'you' is the subject, that is, the one who is doing the looking.

This is a very important feature of making sentences in Dharumbal. Each noun changes its form depending whether it is acting as a subject or object or other function, in that sentence. Look at the word *gatarr* 'man' in these sentences:

Gatarru dhali. man(DOER) ate	'The man ate (something).'
Gatarrna wungi. man(TO) gave	'(Someone) gave it to the man.'
Gatarram bundanh. man(FROM) coming	'(Something) is coming from the man.'

In all of these sentences, the word for 'man' changes its form depending on what its function is in the sentence. In the first, the man is eating something. He is the person doing something, because he is doing something to the food, and the form of the word for 'man' is *gatarru.* In the next sentence, someone is giving something TO the man, he is not doing anything himself. The word used is *gatarrna.* In the third sentence, something comes FROM the man, and the form is different again, *gatarram.* Most of the word is the same, it is just the ending that changes. The idea of 'to' and 'from' is expressed not in whole words, as in English, but in the endings on other words. To use nouns in Dharumbal, you need to put these endings on the nouns in every sentence.

The other thing you might have noticed in some of these sentences is that the form of the verb changes too. Verbs change in English to show that something happened in the past, or it is happening now, or it will happen in the future. For example, look at the verbs in these sentences:

The man *went.*
The man *is going.*
The man *will go.*

In each of these, the different verb form tells you when the going happened: before now, now, or in the future. Dharumbal is similar. Verbs change their form to show when something happened. Look at the following sentences:

Ngatha yambagu yan. I camp(TO) going	'I am going to the camp.'
Nhula yani gurriyu. he went yesterday	'He went yesterday.'
Barragu yana! there(TO) go	'Go over there!'

The form of the word for 'go' changes in each of these sentences. In the first sentence, the word for 'go' is *yan,* and it refers to going at the present moment. In the second sentence, the going took place in the past, yesterday, and the form of the word is *yani.* The third sentence is a command for someone to go, and the form of the word for 'go' is *yana,* different again. In each sentence, it is the exact form of the verb which tells you when the action was supposed to happen. Like with the nouns, it is only the ends of the verbs that change. Most of the words stay the same, just the ends change. To find out more information on this kind of thing in Aboriginal languages in general, Simpson (1995) has more

explanation. There is a lot more information on Dharumbal grammar in the rest of this book. In §1.4 there is some explanation of what is in the book, and how to use it.

1.4 How to find out more

If you want more information on the Dharumbal language, the rest of this book tries to explain most of what is known about it. However it is a bit more technical. In this section here are some notes on how to use the Dharumbal grammar book if you want to find out more information about Dharumbal.

The Dharumbal book begins by explaining where the information came from which is contained in the book. It goes on to describe what areas of land are associated with the language, and has a bit of information on cultural practices. This information all comes from early written sources. The exact source for each piece of information is noted down, by writing the last name of who wrote the information, and the date it was written. For example in the previous section, §1.3.1, I gave a reference of where you could find more information on grammar of Aboriginal languages. I said 'To find out more information on this kind of thing in Aboriginal languages in general, Simpson (1995) has more explanation.'

This means, that someone called Simpson wrote a paper or book in 1995, which has the information you need. Full information on the names of all the books mentioned can be found at the end of this Dharumbal book, in the section called 'References'. Here you will find all the authors listed in alphabetical order, with the full names of their books or papers and where they were published.

Section 3 of the book is all about pronunciation of Dharumbal, and what sounds can occur in which places in words. Section 4 is about the changes that happen to nouns in sentences, as was described above. This section gives more detail on what exact forms the ends of nouns take, for which exact function. There are examples of every different form. Section 5 is about verbs and the changes that verbs make to express different meanings. Again there are examples of each different type. Section 6 has more information on building up sentences from words, how to combine different more complicated types of words and phrases to build sentences.

You will notice that example sentences are written in a particular way. For example,

(1) *Ngatha gatarr-na nha-nh.*
I.ERG man-ACC see-NPAST
'I can see a man.'

Each example takes three lines. The first line is the Dharumbal sentence. The words are separated into different pieces by hyphens. In this example, the word for 'man' is *gatarr*, and the piece at the end is the piece that shows the word is functioning as an object in this sentence. The verb is separated into pieces too. The first bit means 'see' and the second bit shows that the seeing takes place in the non-past tense. The hyphens just help people see which bit of each word means what. They are not part of the spelling system of the language, and should not be pronounced, they just help people see the relationships between parts of the words. The second line has a translation under every Dharumbal word, with some information in capital letters. The capital letters are abbreviated: ERG is short for Ergative, which means that the noun is functioning as a subject doing something to an object. ACC is short for 'Accusative' and means that the man is functioning as an object, something

is being done to him. NPAST is short for 'Non-Past' and means that the action took place in the present or future (i.e. not the past). A full list of all the abbreviations used appears after the Table of Contents at the start of the book. The third line of the examples is the full English translation.

The most important part of the book is the example sentences, and the dictionary, which is the last part of the book. It contains all the words recorded for the Dharumbal language. All languages have thousands and thousands of words, and Dharumbal would have had many more than the words listed here. But this list just contains all the words we still know about. There are thousands more words that have been lost and forgotten.

Dharumbal was a rich and complex language, as complex as English or any other language. This book does not do justice to the richness of the Dharumbal language. If the book seems small, this is not because Dharumbal was a simple language, or a language with only a few words. This book gives just a tiny glimpse of what was once a powerful, complex and beautiful language.

2 *Introduction*

Dharumbal is the language of the Rockhampton area. During the past two hundred years there has been massive language loss among Dharumbal people, as a direct result of Australian government policies under which Dharumbal speakers were either killed or removed to various settlements, including Durundur, Fraser Island, Woorabinda, Cherbourg and Palm Island (Memmott 1993:36). However today there is an active association of people identifying as Dharumbal, represented by the Darumbal-Noolar Murree Aboriginal Corporation for Land and Culture, and there are still a small number of people who know some Dharumbal language. This work aims to be a comprehensive synthesis of all surviving information on the Dharumbal language, and as such is intended to be a useful resource for Dharumbal people, linguists and other specialists interested in the language of Rockhampton.

Dharumbal is a conservative member of the Pama-Nyungan language family, the family to which most of the languages of Australia, apart from the northern areas of the Northern Territory, belong. It differs from other languages in the area largely in the extreme conservatism of its morpho-syntax, while bearing the unusual feature of a phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops.

2.1 Sources for this study

This study is based on information from the remaining Dharumbal speakers, as well as on earlier written and recorded sources. People from whom I recorded language are Doug Hatfield (Rockhampton), Ollie Donald (Rockhampton), Dulcie Dooley (Woorabinda) and Francis Cubby (Woorabinda). The recorded material consists of some hundreds of words and some short phrases. Some consultants (in particular Dulcie Dooley) were able to give phonologically reliable renditions of Dharumbal words, whereas others knew some Dharumbal words but had only English phonology available to them. The language recorded from these consultants contains mixed Dharumbal, Baradha and Gangulu, as Dharumbal people today have affiliation with Gangulu- and Baradha-speaking areas, and acknowledge a traditional association between Gangulu, Baradha and Dharumbal people (Doug Hatfield pers. comm.). In addition, Dulcie Dooley and Francis Cubby normally identify as Baradha, although they know some Dharumbal language. For the purposes of this study, only material which was known from other sources to be Dharumbal was used.

There are also earlier recordings of Dharumbal. A.P. Elkin recorded some songs possibly from the Dharumbal language in 1930 (Elkin 1930). Unfortunately the recordings, which

were made on wax cylinders, have deteriorated over time, and now the words are unintelligible, although something of the music can still be heard. Stephen Wurm (1955) recorded some Dharumbal language from an unnamed speaker. There are about fifty words, phrases and sentences in this recording, with no translations.

There are also written sources on Dharumbal which were used for this study. Of these, by far the most comprehensive source is Holmer (1983), which contains a small dictionary with translated sentences, and a 13-page phonological and grammatical analysis. It is a great pity however that there are no tape recordings of Holmer's work. Another major source of information is Roth (1897a-e), containing lists of between 140 and 775 words of different Dharumbal speech varieties; and Roth (1898), a 78-page manuscript containing a wealth of ethnographic information and vocabulary, including the five vocabularies from 1897, with slightly different spelling. Roth (1894) contains some information on social group names in this area. Other more minor sources are Gir-oonbah (1804) (seven words); Archer (1886) (a word list in the great compilation of word lists from around Australia, by E.M. Curr); Muller (1886) (another word list in Curr); Leney (1904) (a short word list); Dutton (1907) (list of around a hundred words); Meston (n.d.) (list of around forty words); and Tindale (1938) (list of around 120 words).

The only data with full sentences comes from Holmer (1983). All of the sentence examples cited in this work are taken from Holmer unless otherwise noted. Glossing of examples is my own, and my free translations sometimes differ slightly from those of Holmer.

2.2 Locations and varieties

Memmott's (1993) comprehensive social history of the Dharumbal group draws largely on Roth (1898) and Howitt (1904) to give the following location of the Dharumbal group as a whole:

> ...Darambal [sic] refers to a language group whose territory is located...from the Styx River in the north...to Raglan Creek in the south... A conservative westerly limit is the Broad Sound-Boomer Range...
>
> The Darambal language group area includes the Keppel Islands and other islands close to the shore between the Styx and Raglan, and arguably the outer off-shore islands including the Percys. (1993:21)

Included under the Dharumbal name is a number of different named varieties associated with different areas. The most widely attested names are Wapabara, associated with Great Keppel Island, and Dharumbal, associated with the area where Rockhampton now lies. Roth (1897a-e, 1898) gives the most detail on these names, as well as providing further information on other names. Roth says of the Wapabara that it is a sub-tribe of the Dharumbal tribe, which belonged to Keppel Island (*wapa* 'island'), and members of which used to come across to the mainland at Yeppoon (1898:5, 12, 78). Note that Wapabara was associated only with the southern part of Great Keppel Island: 'Big Keppel was inhabited by two "tribes", the one on the south extremity speaking Taroombal dialect [i.e. Wapabara – AHT], the other on the north speaking a Broad Sound one' (Roth 1898:11).

Roth says of the Dharumbal (his Ta-rum-bal, Taroombal) tribe that their 'chief camp' was at Rockhampton, and that they used to travel to Broadmount, Baluagowan and Emu Park, and southwards 'to the water-holes about two and a half miles north of Raglan post

office'. Roth gives linguistic data for three other named groups which, on the basis of linguistic evidence, clearly belong to the Dharumbal language. These names are Ku-in-ma-ba-ra (based at Torilla, travelling to Emu Park and inland to Yaamba and Rockhampton); Ka-rún-ba-ra, who were part of Roth's Warrabul tribe, were based at Rosewood, and travelled to Morinish, Yaamba, Westwood, Rockhampton, and along the Dawson River to Duaringa; and Ra-kí-wa-ra, who were based at Yeppoon and travelled to Woodlands, Byfield, Maryvale and to Keppel. These named groups were, on the basis of Roth's linguistic data, dialect groups, all speaking mutually intelligible varieties of a single language, generally known as Dharumbal.

Roth's picture of the Dharumbal region is of four tribes, each with a number of named subdivisions, or what he calls sub-tribes. The full list appears below (in Roth's spelling):

Roth's Dharumbal tribes and sub-tribes (Roth 1898:77-78)

TRIBE	SUB-TRIBE	MEANING OF NAME
Kooinmur-burra†	ka-too-burra	'end, finish'
	wundoo-burrra	'mountain'
	wool-lo-in-burra	'iguana's tail'
	war-roo-burra	'damper of zamia nut'
	moo-in-burra	'ashes'
	pun-kan-burra	'gap in a range'
	ris-te-burra	'sand-fly'
Ningebul	war-gin-burra	'clean sand'
	run-doo-burra	'Townshead Island'
	tar-roo-burra	'fig with flies inside'
	koo-ke-burra	'green-headed ant'
	boo-cha-burra	'honey-suckle tree'
Taroombul†	warra-burra	'wild guava'
	kon-koo-burra	'sickness, retching'
	bur-rie-burra	'flame caused by fat from cooking'
	wop-pa-burra†	'island'
Warrabul	ka-roon-burra†	'flesh'
	be-chal-burra	'a small grub'
	be-poo-burra	'big river'
	wol-le-a-burra	–

† Roth gives word lists for these named varieties.

Note that Roth's list also includes Yetimarala and Tarrumburra, both varieties of the Biri language (see below, §2.3); Oorumbal, which belongs to Bayali, the southerly neighbour of Dharumbal; and Waga and Gureng-Gureng, also different languages.

At least some of Roth's named groups spoke discernibly different varieties of Dharumbal. The clearest linguistic differences are between Wapabara, the variety spoken on Great Keppel Island on the one hand, and the mainland varieties on the other hand. Roth's Wapabara (Roth 1897e) shows frequent loss of initial consonants, although, interestingly,

Holmer's Wapabara does not (see below, §3.7 for discussion). Wurm's data (Wurm 1955, transcription and translation in Terrill 2001) contains no information on the speaker or place of origin, but it shows considerably closer relationship to Roth (1897e) than to any other source, which suggests that it too was Wapabara.

It is also possible that the data collected by Leney (1907) was a distinct variety of Dharumbal, as it is the only source of data which shows evidence of pre-stopped liquids (see §3.5 below). Most of the data used in this study comes, via Holmer (1983), from Kanomie Richards, who was Wapabara from Great Keppel Island. The Hatfield family, from whom I recorded data, are from Apis Creek, and had associations with Rockhampton, as well as further inland as far as Clermont, Emerald and Woorabinda.

Note that Roth's (1897c) Ra-kí-wa-ra is not mentioned on his map, but in this location (near Yeppoon) instead is Buribura.

One other name mentioned with respect to this area is 'Bink-e-vul', said by Gir-oonbah (1804) to be associated with Gracemere. We have no other citations of this name.

The above information makes it clear that the name Dharumbal had a number of senses: both as a name for a group of dialects of the Rockhampton region; as the name of one of these dialects; and as the name for the respective social groups of speakers using these speech varieties. Kanomie Richards, speaking Wapabara, identified her language to Nils Holmer as Dharumbal, indicating that at least for some of these groups, there was a recognised social unit known as Dharumbal. This perception is concurred with by people identifying as Dharumbal today.

Note that there is some variation in the spelling of the language name. Roth has both Ta-rum-bal and Taroombal: Tindale has it as Dharumbal, also citing alternatives as Tarumbul, Tarambol, Tarmbal and Charumbul. The present-day community's corporate name Darumbal-Noolar Murree Aboriginal Corporation for Land and Culture also uses the spelling 'Darumbal'. Holmer too has it as 'Darumbal'.

However there is a rather confusing element in Holmer's orthography: he writes interdental stops with capital letters: thus, in his orthography *dhina* 'foot' is 'DiNa'. But he also capitalises proper nouns, as is usual in writing. So there is no distinction in his orthography between apical and interdental consonants when they are the initial phoneme in proper nouns. This quibble becomes an important issue with the language name; in his orthography, we cannot tell whether the language name is correctly *dharumbal* or *darumbal*. However, we can infer that the language name actually begins with an interdental stop, not an apical stop, because in his alphabetical lexicon it is sorted with the interdental stops, not the apical stops. Thus, Holmer writes 'Darumbal' with a capital initial letter for two separate reasons: because the word is a proper noun; and because the first phoneme is an interdental stop.

In this work the language name is spelt Dharumbal, in accordance with the orthography used throughout the work.

Note that many languages in the region are named after their word for 'no' (e.g. Waga, Gabi, Gureng). The word for 'no' in Dharumbal is *dharum*; one possible analysis of this name is the word for 'no' plus a suffix *-bal* (see e.g. Kite 2000:2, who gives an etymology for the misspelt 'Darumbal' as *darum* 'no' and *-bal* 'tribal suffix'). However, there is no attested suffix of the form *-bal* in the language (although in Dharumbal, as in many languages of the region, there is some evidence of a suffix *-bara* meaning 'associated with', at least in the clan name *wapabara* lit: 'island-associated').

2.3 Neighbouring languages

Dharumbal has two neighbouring languages: Biri to the north and west, and Bayali to the south. There is very little information on Bayali; the only extant linguistic information comes from one word list in Curr's compilation (Anon 1886). Note that Bayali, referred to by Tindale as Baiali, is given in Roth's (1898) map as Oorambul. Bayali shares 21 per cent of its lexicon with Dharumbal (on Dixon's pers. comm. count). This low number is not suggestive of close relationship between the two languages, although the dangers of assuming genetic relationship, or lack thereof, solely on the basis of shared lexical percentages are well known, and without grammatical data to compare we cannot be decisive on this point.

Memmott notes a possible relationship between Dharumbal and Yetimarala: '...there is some evidence that the Yetimarala group between the west of this range and the lower McKenzie and Isaac Rivers comprised the most westerly consistent dialect group [of the Dharumbal language group]' (1993:21). On linguistic grounds this is unlikely: Yetimarala (for which the only evidence we have is 75 words from Roth (1898)) shares only 17%–31% with the Dharumbal word lists collected by Roth; whereas it shares 73% with Gangulu, which is a southerly dialect of the Biri language (figures from Terrill 1998).

The relationship between Biri and Dharumbal is briefly discussed in Terrill (1998:87), where it is stated that there are very few phonological and grammatical similarities between the two languages. In fact both languages betray their common Pama-Nyungan heritage, but show no evidence of greater similarity than two Pama-Nyungan languages in proximity would be expected to do.

The Biri language as a whole is not obviously closely related to Dharumbal, and they do not share any identifiable common innovations. Biri has no sign of the verbal conjugations which are evidenced in Proto Pama-Nyungan, the posited language ancestral to the members of the Pama-Nyungan family, and it has no monosyllabic words. It has however developed pronominal indexing suffixes on verbs. Dharumbal is more conservative, for instance in having retained a very archaic form of verb conjugations and monosyllabic verbs (see Dixon 1980 for discussion of the history of these features in Australian languages). This conservatism makes Dharumbal appear more similar to Waga further to the south and south-west, which has some similarly conservative features; see for example Kite's (2000) grammar of Duungidjawu, a dialect of the Waga language. However, the relationship between Dharumbal and Waga appears to consist mostly in shared Pama-Nyungan retentions rather than any identifiable shared innovations. Similarly, while both Dharumbal and Duungidjawu have a nominal case-marking system which marks common nouns, pronouns and human/higher animate nouns differently, this is a typologically reasonably common phenomenon, represented in many Pama-Nyungan languages, and should not be taken as evidence of close relationship between the two languages. In fact there is no evidence on which to base a claim of a low-level genetic group including Dharumbal with any other language.

2.4 Social organisation and sign language

Roth (1898:26-27) gives terms relating to social organisation in two Dharumbal areas, as shown in the following table. Terms with and without final *-(a)n* are female and male reference forms respectively. Roth explains that this chart is to be read as follows: 'male

Karalbara marries female Koorpalan who begets koodala or kooialla offspring. Thus, yungaroo and wookaroo are named moieties, and koodala(n)/kooialla(n), koorpal(an), karalbara(n) and munnal(an) are section names' (1898:27).

	yungaroo		wookaroo	
Rockhampton, Yeppoon, Rosewood, Gladstone (i.e. his Taroombul and Warrabul tribes)	koo-da-la(n)	koor-pal(an)	ka-ral-ba-ra(n)	mun-nal(an)
Torilla, Pine Mountain (i.e. his Kooinmur-burra tribe)	koo-i-al-la(n)	koor-pal(an)	ka-ral-ba-ra(n)	mun-nal(an)

Roth also mentions a sign language: 'this was said to have been employed at corroboree performances, whilst hunting, and when among friends' (1898:63). He gives pictures and descriptions of signs for various kinship terms, some large animals, 'honey', 'copulation' and 'goodbye'. He also notes W.H. Flowers' observation (Flowers gave him much information about the Kooinmur-burra group, from Torilla and Pine Mountain) that each of the four local divisions of the Kooinmur-burra 'tribe' had a signed name as well as a spoken name:

> One [sign] was made by putting the right hand at the back of the neck, another by putting the hand over the upper portion of the buttock – the two others he has unfortunately forgotten . (1898:63)

3 *Phonology and morpho-phonology*

In its phonology Dharumbal presents a very interesting feature. There is some evidence for contrastive voicing in the stop series, which is quite unusual in Pama-Nyungan languages as a whole. This issue will be discussed below. Other aspects of Dharumbal's phoneme inventory are typical for the area: there are nasals for every point of articulation, and while there is a phonemic contrast between apical and laminal articulation in stops and nasals, there is no phonemic distinction between lamino-dental and lamino-palatal consonants, or between apico-alveolar and apico-post-alveolar consonants. There are three vowels. The phonemes are written in a practical orthography: see §3.10 for a discussion of orthographical issues:

CONSONANTS

	bilabial	apical	laminal	velar
voiceless stop	*p*	*t*	*th*	*k*
voiced stop	*b*	*d*	*dh*	*g*
nasal	*m*	*n*	*nh*	*ng*
lateral		*l*		
rhotic		*r rr rh*		
semivowel			*y*	*w*

VOWELS

i	*u*
a	

3.1 Voicing

Holmer (1983) maintains that there is a phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops when they occur between vowels. He adduces as evidence the minimal pair:

waga 'burn it'
waka 'knee'

In addition, he says his informant did not accept the pronunciation *gaba* for *gapa* 'ground'. One series was phonetically realised as 'weak plosives...with reduced sonority' and tending towards frication (Holmer 1983:5), and the other series was 'voiceless and somewhat lengthened' (Holmer 1983:458).

Holmer is well aware of how unusual such a distinction would be in the languages of the area, and says that '[t]he only parallel found by the present author to this peculiar trait of Dharumbal phonetics appears to occur in the New South Wales Thangatti' (Holmer 1983:458). (In Thangatti, Holmer 1966:17-18 posits a length distinction in plosives: he refers to it as gemination of certain consonants.) A voicing contrast in stops, although unusual in Pama-Nyungan languages, is, however, not unknown. For example, Diyari has a voicing contrast in intervocalic and post-consonantal apicals (Austin 1981:17). Nearby to Diyari, Wangkumara also has a voicing distinction with all stops in limited positions (McDonald & Wurm 1979:7). Much closer to Dharumbal, to the west, Marrgany/Gunya has an intervocalic stop contrast (Breen 1981). Marrgany/Gunya's stop contrast is further discussed below.

My own data supports Holmer's analysis. Dulcie Dooley, the Dharumbal consultant with the best retention of a phonemic system, did not recognise words pronounced with intervocalic voiceless stops which she had given with voiced stops; and vice versa. Taken alone, this data would not be very conclusive, as I recorded the language in the last stages of language loss, and it is difficult to rule out interference from English in such a situation. Wurm's recording unfortunately happens not to contain evidence either for or against this analysis.

However other sources tend to confirm Holmer's and my data. If voicing in stops is, as Holmer maintains, in free variation everywhere except intervocalically, where the distinction is contrastive, then we should find in the early sources examples of fluctuating use of the voiced versus voiceless stop symbols everywhere except intervocalically, in which environment sources should be reasonably consistent in which symbol they use. Of course, many of these sources are not particularly well transcribed or accurate, but two of them are Roth and Tindale, both well above the average in terms of consistency, accuracy and reliability of transcription. In addition, the sheer weight of numbers of witnesses increases the reliability.

We find that word-initially, there is a high degree of fluctuation between the use of the voiced versus voiceless series of stop symbols, as we would expect:

belly	bul:u (Tindale 1938)
	bul-lu (Roth 1897a)
	pul-lu (Roth 1897c)
	pul-lo (Roth 1897d)
	bal-lu (Roth 1897e)
	booloo (Muller 1886)
	bolloo (Archer 1886)
	bulu (Holmer 1983)

blood	carwoon (Leney 1904)
	ka-wun (Roth 1897a)
	ka-wun (Roth 1897b)
	ka-wun (Roth 1897c)
	ka-wun (Roth 1897d)
	gawoon (Muller 1886)
	kawoon (Archer 1886)
	gawun, gumal (Holmer 1983)

After liquids too, there is fluctuation in the transcription between voiced and voiceless stops:

pigeon	pal-pal (Roth 1897a)
	bullpull (Leney 1904)
	balbal (squatter pigeon) (Leney 1904)
star	cundullry (Leney 1904)
	kan-da-li (Roth 1897a)
	kandali (Tindale1938)
	kan-ta-li (Roth 1897c)
	kundilly (Dutton 1907)
	kandalle (Muller 1886)
one	wur-pah (Leney 1904)
	warupa (Tindale 1938)
	walba (Meston n.d.)
	wipa (Dutton 1907)
	werpa (Archer 1886)
	wa<u>r</u>ba (Holmer 1983)

The critical environment is between vowels. If there is indeed a voicing contrast intervocalically, there should be no variation, or much less (allowing for inaccuracies on the part of the transcribers), in the symbols used for intervocalic stops. This is in fact what we find. In most instances, intervocalic stops are transcribed by all sources using either the voiced symbols or the voiceless:

cheek	mo-ko (Roth 1897a)
	mo-ko (Roth 1897b)
	mo-ko (Roth 1897c)
	mo-ko (Roth 1897d)
	mo-ko (Roth 1897e)
	mok:o (jaw) (Tindale 1938)

(carpet) snake	tokkirri (Archer 1886)
	tu-ki-ri (Roth 1897b)
	tu-ki-ri (Roth 1897c)
	tu-ki-ri (Roth 1897d)
	to-ke-ri (Roth 1897a)
	tok:u (Tindale1938)
	doo-coo ree (Leney 1904)
	Dukiri (Holmer 1983)
crow	wagan (Archer 1886)
	wagan (Holmer 1983)
	wa-gan (eaglehawk) (Roth 1897e)
pelican	kooyabula (Muller 1886)
	ku-yá-bu-ru (Roth 1897a)
	kojaburu (Tindale1938)

In the vast majority of cases, intervocalic stops are transcribed with either voiced symbols, or voiceless, in all of the cases evidencing a particular word. There are however three words in the data in which intervocalic stops are rendered using both voiced and voiceless symbols in different sources:

turkey, scrub	wakud--? (Tindale1938)
	wahgoon (Leney 1904)
	wockwoon (Leney 1904)
meat	tukur: (Tindale1938)
	took-oor (Gir-oonbah 1894)
	Dugur (Holmer 1983)
scrub	cupaal (Leney 1904)
	kabal (Tindale1938)

These three sets are the only examples in the data exhibiting a difference in voiced versus voiceless symbols used intervocalically, versus far many more sets where the same symbols are used. One could perhaps dismiss three sets as each being examples of inaccuracies such as are known to abound when dealing with untrained early transcribers. However the middle set above is somewhat problematic, as Tindale and Holmer, both experienced and generally reliable in their transcriptions of stops, differ as to the voicing of the intervocalic stop.

In sum, the evidence suggests that there is a phonemic voicing contrast in intervocalic stops.

In any case, at the risk of giving too much information rather than too little, I preserve the voiced/voiceless contrast in stops in the orthography: that is, where there is a clear

symbol used in the sources, I use that. In the three examples above where there is no clear symbol chosen by the sources, I side with the majority if there is one; otherwise I arbitrarily use the voiced symbol.

Given the evidence suggesting a voicing contrast in Dharumbal stops, it would be interesting to know where it came from. While voicing contrasts are extremely rare in Pama-Nyungan languages, they are not unknown. Commonly such a contrast comes from an earlier vowel length distinction being reinterpreted as a length or voicing distinction in stops. Koch (1997:278) mentions this process for a number of Cape York languages:

> Proto Pama-Nyungan and some other languages have a contrast in vowel length and restrict long vowels to the first syllable of a word. ...In many languages obstruents occur short, optionally voiced and fricative after stressed short vowels: for example, Wik languages... In a number of languages distinctive voiced fricatives have arisen from obstruents following long vowels, concomitant with the loss of vowel length contrast...

Dixon (1980:215) mentions in more detail this process occurring in Wik-Muminh:

> Wik-Muminh...has dropped the length distinction [in vowels] at V1 before stops with the result that voicing has become phonologically significant for stops at C2. Originally a stop was voiced after a long vowel and voiceless elsewhere. This distinction remained after length was lost, and whereas before voicing had been predictable from voice quality it is now phonemic:
> */papi/ > /papi/ 'father's mother'; */paapa/ > /paba/ 'breast'; */piipa/ > /piba/ 'father'

It is likely that this too was the developmental path for Dharumbal's stop contrast. However there are problems with the lack of adequate data which prevent us from making any firm conclusions. Added to this is the lack of documentation of adequate numbers of cognate words in neighbouring languages, or reconstructed words in Proto Pama-Nyungan to compare. However, there are a couple of suggestive points. Firstly, as Dixon (1980:215-216) notes, a stop contrast is an areal feature in north-east South Australia and south-west Queensland. In fact Marrgany/Gunya, spoken to the west of Dharumbal, also has a voicing contrast, most commonly in the intervocalic environment (Breen 1981:283).

Breen (1981:283-284) does not suggest an origin for the stop contrast, although noting that it looks like a language-internal sound change, rather than borrowing, or inheritance from a proto-language:

> while phonetically voiced stops are the norm in Mari languages – a number of the words containing voiceless stops, such as *nguta* 'dog' (G), *ngatyu* 'my'; *gatya* 'rotten'; *bati* 'to cry' (G), *yatyu* 'flame' (M) and *nuka* 'to taste' (M) are reflexes of forms which can be reconstructed as ancestral to both the Mari and Pama languages. It seems likely, therefore, that the distinction arose as a result of internal phonological change rather than borrowing.

There is a small amount of evidence which suggests that voiceless stops in Marrgany/Gunya correspond to voiceless stops in Dharumbal, and voiced stops in Marrgany/Gunya correspond to voiced stops in Dharumbal:

English	Dharumbal	Marrgany/Gunya (Breen 1981)
'buttocks'	*butu*	*butu*
'take'	*dabi*	*dhabi* 'send, let go'
'my'	*ngatyu*	*ngatyu*

These sets show voiceless stops in M/G corresponding to voiceless stops in Dharumbal; and a voiced stop corresponding in both M/G and Dharumbal. If there was more data like this, we could infer either borrowing between the two languages, or a parallel development from Proto Pama-Nyungan (or some lower-level ancestor language), whereby some earlier contrast perhaps of vowel length (to use the obvious example) was reinterpreted in the same way, independently in both languages, as a voicing contrast in stops.

In short, the data we have available is tantalisingly suggestive, but it simply isn't enough to show us convincingly how the stop contrast came to develop in Dharumbal.

3.2 Vowel length

Holmer's (1983:457) observation was mentioned above, that vowels are occasionally lengthened; often there is 'a certain interrelation between vowel length and the surrounding sounds', and thus it is not clear whether or not vowel length is phonemically contrastive. Roth marks every vowel as long versus short. From his rather ample data, there appear to be no instances of a word differing only by the length of a vowel. My own data, and that of Wurm, suggests no evidence of the existence of contrastive vowel length.

3.3 Laminals

The laminal nasal and stop are pronounced, according to Holmer's data, Wurm's and my own, usually as interdentals, but with the palatal variant freely occurring in any position. The laminal nasal, however, is always pronounced as a lamino-palatal when word-final.

3.4 Rhotics

Holmer says there are three contrastive rhotics: a 'retroflex' (*r* in my orthography) (I am assuming he means a retroflex continuant); a 'softer trill' (*rr* in my orthography) and a third sound, *rh* in my orthography, which only occurs intervocalically, and which he characterises thus: 'The sound of [rh] is a kind of compound sound (suggesting 'rz' in English...). This sound...is consequently a noticeable vibrant and somewhat lengthened sound, which is normally heard as distinct from the softer trill represented by [rr]' (Holmer 1983:459). From Holmer's description, it is not clear whether he means that the *rh* sound is in phonemic contrast with *rr* or an intervocalic allophone of it. However Wurm's (1955) data is critical here. Wurm recorded certain words, which I transcribe and translate as follows:

wuru	'son'
wurhu	'nose'
gurru	'fly'

The sound transcribed as *r* here is a rhotic continuant: the *rr* is a voiced rhotic trill, and the *rh* is a voiceless rhotic trill. The *r/rh* minimal pair is critical, and the near-minimal pair with *g* establishes the phonemic distinction to a satisfactory degree.

Note also that there are a number of near-minimal pairs in Holmer's data with *rh* and *rr* intervocalically:

a-i

'head'	*ngarhi*
'possum'	*nharring*

a-a

'leg'	*dharha*
'over there'	*barragu*
'(mixed-origin) man'	*yarra*

u-u

'nose'	*wurhu*
'fly'	*gurru*

i-i

'dog'	*mirhi*
'carpet-snake'	*dhukirri*

u-a

'sea'	*gurha*
'hut'	*dhurra*

These near-minimal pairs again suggest that the *rh* and *rr* rhotics are phonemically distinct, and together with Wurm's recording, it is reasonably safe to conclude that there were in fact three phonemic rhotics in Dharumbal.

3.5 Prestopping

There are a couple of examples in the data of prestopped laterals in some renditions:

'water'	*gadli*	codlee (Leney 1904)
	gali	kal:i (Tindale1938)
		gallee (Meston n.d.)
		kaly (Dutton 1907)
		kul-le (Gir-oonbah 1894)
		kal-li (Roth 1897a)
		kal-li (Roth 1897b)
		kal-li (Roth 1897c)
		kal-li (Roth 1897d)
		kalle (Muller 1886)
		kalli (Archer 1886)
		gali (Holmer 1983)
'ice'	*badla*	budlah (Leney 1904)

Holmer (1983:459) also mentions *ngidli* for *ngili* 'hand' and *badhnha* for *banha* 'that, there'. It is not clear from his explanation whether the pre-stopping is a phonological alternative, or has a geographic, dialectal, sociolectal or other explanation. The fact that only

one of all the other sources shows this feature (Leney 1904) suggests that pre-stopping was not simply a phonological variant, but rather may have been a feature associated with a particular language variety. Leney's data comes from 'Marlborough district'; unfortunately we cannot tell from such scant information what language variety Leney's information came from.

3.6 Stress

Stress is usually, but not always, on the first syllable of a word. We have evidence of this both in my own recordings of speakers today, in Wurm's data, and also in Roth's data. Roth meticulously marks syllable boundaries of every word by hyphens, and underlines the stressed syllable. Holmer (1983:457) notes that stress is not contrastive, adding that 'the usual tendency toward stressing of the second initial syllable in long words or sequences prevails: *nganádhuru (bagu)* '(to) all of us', *nganádhurunga* 'us all', *bundálbaringi* 'brought' (my orthography). Roth cites a few polysyllabic words with non-initial stress (e.g. noo-râng-ûn *nurángan* 'star' from Rosewood 1898:73). He also, intriguingly, gives the forms for clearly cognate words from different Dharumbal areas which seem to differ in their stress placement:

'sun'	Torilla	kâ-rĕ	*gári*
	Rosewood	kâ-rā	*gará* (Roth 1898:73; my phonemicisation)

In conclusion, stress typically, but not always, occurs on the initial syllable of a word. It is not clear from the written sources whether or not stress was phonemic, and my own recordings do not resolve the question.

3.7 Loss of initial consonants

There is evidence of the loss of some initial consonants. Holmer (1983:459) discusses this in terms of a general lenition of the consonant *g* in all positions, however there is a small amount of evidence for the loss of other initial consonants as well as *g*. Loss of initial *g* is quite common:

'spear'	*ganai*	kanai (Tindale1938)
		kan-nái (Roth 1897a)
		kan-nai (Roth 1897d)
		kanai (war) (Muller 1886)
	anai	an-nai (Roth 1897e)
'fly'	*gurru*	ku-ru (Roth 1897a)
		ku-ru (Roth 1897b)
		ku-ru (Roth 1897c)
		ku-ru (Roth 1897d)
		guru (not used on Keppel Is.) (Holmer 1983)
		ɣurru (Wurm 1955)
	urru	o-ru (Roth 1897e)

'woman'	*gin.gil*	kingil (Muller 1886)
		kinkil (Archer 1886)
		kin-kil (Roth 1897a)
		kin-kil (Roth 1897b)
		kin-gil (Roth 1897c)
		kin-kil (Roth 1897d)
		gingil (hard) (Meston n.d.)
		gingel (Dutton 1907)
		kinkill (Leney 1904)
		ginggil (Holmer 1983)
	in.gil	in-kil (Roth 1897e)

There are many more examples of this. However, there are also a few other examples of loss of an initial consonant which is not *g*:

loss of initial *r* or *d*:

'bone'	*rilu*	ril-lu (Roth 1897a)
		ril-lu (Roth 1897b)
		ril-lu (Roth 1897c)
	dilu	tilloo (Archer 1886)
		dilu (Holmer 1983)
	ilu	el-lo (Roth 1897d)

loss of initial *n*:

'shoulder'	*nirrgal*	nir-kal (Roth 1897b)
		nir-kal (Roth 1897c)
		nir-kal (Roth 1897d)
	irrgal	ir-kal (Roth 1897e)

In the following list of words there is evidence of initial consonants *n*, *d*, *r*, and *g*, any of which could have been lost to produce *ira*:

'teeth'	*gira*	keerah (Leney 1904)
		kirra (Archer 1886)
	rira	rir:a (Tindale 1938)
		ri-ra (Roth 1897b)
		ri-ra (Roth 1897c)
		ri-ra (Roth 1897e)
	dira	derah (Leney 1904)
		di̲ra (Holmer 1983)
		dir-ah (Gir-oonbah 1894)
		tir-ra (Roth 1897a)
	nira	neera (Muller 1886)
	ira	ir-ra (Roth 1897d)

Note that there are also words without an initial consonant for which we have no evidence of what the original consonant was. We assume that in each case there was indeed a consonant which has been lost, because in earlier forms of Pama-Nyungan languages words were consonant-initial (Dixon 1980:167-168). Of course the loss may have happened at an early stage.

Not all varieties of Dharumbal show loss of initial consonants. Initial *g* is almost always lost in the data from Roth (1897e), which comes from the Wapabara variety of what he refers to as Keppel Island (presumably Great Keppel Island). Roth himself comments on this: 'the elimination of the initial guttural among these Islanders is very marked' (Roth 1898:67). Interestingly, Holmer's data, which comes largely from Kanomie Richards, who was from Great Keppel Island, does not show the loss of initial *g* so consistently as Roth's data. Loss of other initial consonants is evidenced by Roth (1897e) (one instance of lost initial *n*) and Roth (1897d), which comes from Rockhampton.

3.8 Phonotactics

Mono-morphemic words can consist of between one and four syllables, although most consist of two syllables. Words generally begin with a consonant (although note that there is some evidence of loss of certain initial consonants: see §3.7). Words end with a vowel or a consonant.

Word-initial consonants can consist of the following: any stop, any nasal, and *r*, *y* and *w* (i.e. all consonants except *rh*, *rr* and *l*).

Word-final consonants can consist of any of the following: any nasal, either semivowel, *l* and *rr*.

Clusters of two non-identical vowels occur. The following have been found:

	a	*i*	*u*
a	–	*rirrai* 'cockatoo' ('rerai' black cockatoo Tindale 1938; 'ri-dai' white cockatoo Roth 1897e)	–
i	*bindia* 'mother-in-law' ('bin-dia' Roth 1897b)	–	*ngiurr* 'food' ('ngiur' Tindale1938)
u	*bapuan* 'lizard' ('pa-po-an' Roth 1897a)	*dhanggui* 'turtle' (Holmer 1983)	–

Words ending in two vowels where the second (i.e. final) vowel is *i* could in principle be spelt with a *y* instead of an *i* (e.g. *rirray* 'cockatoo' instead of *rirrai*. In the orthography here, such words are always spelt with a final *i*.

Consonant clusters of two members also occur. They consist of any of the word-final consonants followed by any of the word-initial consonants. The table (on the next page) shows all the combinations found, with an example of each. It is not known whether the gaps in the table are principled absences, or just gaps in the data.

SECOND CONSONANT

FIRST CONSONANT	b	d	dh	g	m	n	ng	w	y
l	*dalburr* 'name' (Holmer 1983)	*maldan* 'five' ('maltan' Leney 1904)		*gulgu* 'dilly-bag' ('kul-ko', Roth 1987a)	*gulmari* ('kulmari' Tindale 1938 and others)		*balngan* 'fingers' ('pal-ngan' Roth 1897a, d)	*dhalwany* 'black snake' ('thalwine' Leney 1904)	*bilbilyan* 'parrot' ('pil-pil-yan' Roth 1897a)
rr	*girrbany* 'echidna' ('girbainj' Tindale 1938)			*nirrgal* 'shoulder' ('nir-kal' Roth 1897b-d)					
m	*yamba* 'camp' (Holmer 1983)					*amna*? 'none' ('amna' Dutton 1907)			
n	*gunbara* 'creek' ('kon-ba-ra' Roth 1897e)	*munda* 'dilly-bag' ('mun-ta' Roth 1897b)			*ginmin* 'sun' ('ghin-min' Gir-oonbah 1894)				
nh	*wanhbirr*? 'little' ('wain-ber' Roth 1987a-c)		*nhanhdhi* 'stand' (Holmer 1983)						
ng	*yarangbal* 'catfish' ('yarangbarl' (Leney 1904)			*gangguny* 'fishing line' (Holmer 1983)					
y	*maybal* 'arm' ('mai-pal' Roth 1897a)								
dh	*gadhba* 'east' ('katjpa' Tindale 1938)								

3.9 Morpho-phonemics

There is one morpho-phonemic rule apparent in the data, which is that word-final *l* is lost before a suffix beginning with *r*. For example:

(2) *gin.gil* 'woman' *gin.gi-rama*
woman-PRIV
'without a woman/wife'[1]

(3) *yamal* 'rain' *yama-ra dhi-nh*
rain-LOC sit-NPAST
'sitting in the rain'

3.10 Orthography

The orthography used here is a practical orthography shown in the table of phonemes in §3 above, and is standard for this region of Australia. It differs from that of Holmer (1983) in a number of respects. Holmer uses R, r and r̲ for what I write as *rh*, *rr* and *r* respectively. Holmer uses capitals (D, T, N) for laminals. As these are normally pronounced as lamino-dentals, I write them as *dh*, *th* and *nh* respectively. Holmer uses the symbol ŋ for the velar nasal, whereas I use *ng*. For clusters of alveolar nasal plus velar stop the sequence of *n.g* is used here.

The other sources have largely idiosyncratic spelling systems which have been interpreted in the light of all the known information on Dharumbal; see Thieberger (1995) for a discussion of the kinds of issues involved in this process.

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1 As stated above, all sentence examples come from Holmer (1983) unless otherwise marked. Glosses are my own.

4 *Nominal morphology*

Noun phrase roles in Dharumbal are marked by case suffixes. Core cases of nouns distinguish A from S/O, with some evidence of a third case for at least some human nouns in O function. Pronouns also receive case marking. First person singular and non-first person pronouns distinguish O from S/A. First person dual and plural pronouns make a three-way distinction (i.e. A, S and O are all distinguished formally) in their core functions.

For expository purposes I use Dixon's well-established terminology to refer to core syntactic functions: A is the subject of a transitive verb; S is the subject of an intransitive verb; and O is the object of a transitive verb.

For names of cases, I will use the terminology proposed by Goddard (1982), which uses three case labels: Ergative, for the case of the transitive subject (A); Accusative for the case of the transitive object (O); and Nominative for the case of the intransitive subject (S), irrespective of the various syncretisms in different nominal categories.

Where I use the term 'subject' I always specify whether transitive or intransitive subject is intended. The following section discusses noun case marking. Pronominal case marking is discussed after this (§4.2).

4.1 Noun case marking

There are nine noun cases in Dharumbal. Core cases are Ergative/Instrumental, Accusative and Nominative. Oblique cases are Locative, Ablative, Perlative, Goal, Possessive and Privative. Case is marked by a suffix on the final element of an NP. The case suffixes are set out in the following table:

CASE	ALLOMORPHS OF SUFFIX
Ergative/Instrumental	*-ru, -nggu, -u, -Cu*
Accusative for non-human nouns	*-ø*
Accusative for human nouns	*-(n)a*
Nominative	*-ø*
Locative	*-ra, -nga, -da*
Ablative	*-ngam, -am*
Perlative	*-ngal*
Goal	*-gu*
Possessive	*-ngunh*
Privative	*-rama*

The functions of the cases and the allomorphy of the case markers are discussed in the next sections.

4.1.1 Ergative/Instrumental

This case is used to mark the subject (A) of a transitive verb, or the tool by means of which something is accomplished.

There is allomorphy of the forms, as follows:

FORM OF ERG/INSTR SUFFIX	ENVIRONMENT	EXAMPLE
-ru	after stems ending in u or l	*baparru-ru*
-ng(g)u	after stems ending in i	*mirhi-ngu*
-u	after stems ending in rr	*gatarr-u*
homorganic stop plus *u*	after stems ending in a nasal	*dadhim-bu*

Examples:

(4) *Gudali-ngu nganha galanga-l-i.*[1]
doctor-ERG me.ACC cure-CJ-PAST
'The doctor has cured me.'

(5) *Gin.gi-ru yaga-l-i.*
woman-ERG make-CJ-PAST
'The woman made (it).'

(6) *Wuru wali-nggu.*
child bad-ERG
'The bad child (did it).'

(7) *Dhina-ru dharum dhaka-rr-a.*
foot-INSTR no kick-CJ-IMPER
'Don't kick with the foot.'

(8) *Wulaga-ø gali-ngu.*
put.out-IMPER water-INSTR
'Put out (the fire) with water.'

Note that even though the Ergative/Instrumental is formally one case marker, for clarity it is glossed either as Ergative or as Instrumental according to its function in a particular sentence.

Note also that in *gin.gi-ru* (example (5) above) the word *gin.gil* is subject to a morphophonemic rule whereby an *l* is lost before an *r* (see above, §3.9).

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1 As stated earlier, all example sentences come from Homer (1983) unless otherwise stated. Glosses are my own.

4.1.2 Nominative

This case is used for noun phrases functioning as the subject of an intransitive verb. It is unmarked in nouns. Here, it is glossed with a zero suffix, but elsewhere in this work it is not glossed.

(9) *dhugurr-ø wali-ny*
meat-NOM be.bad-NPAST
'The meat is no good.'

(10) *Ngathu bina-ø bunda-ngi.*
my.POSS father-NOM come-PAST
'My father has come.'

(11) *Gumal-ø bunda-ny bakul-(g)am*
blood-NOM come-NPAST leg-ABL
'Blood is coming from my leg.'

4.1.3 Accusative

This case is used for nouns functioning as objects of transitive verbs. Usually it is unmarked (or marked with zero, depending on one's theoretical persuasions). Here it is glossed with a zero suffix, but elsewhere it is not glossed:

(12) *Dadhim-bu guya-ø dha-l-ø.*
porpoise-ERG fish-ACC eat-CJ-NPAST
'The porpoise eats fish.'

(13) *Gali-ø dharum dha-l-i.*
water-ACC no eat-CJ-PAST
'I have not drunk water.'

Occasionally accusative case is marked overtly on human nouns, with suffix *-(n)a*. The factors conditioning the allomorphy are unknown. Holmer (1983:461) calls this an 'objective' case used for definite or specific animates in object function, with forms *-nga* after a vowel, *-a* after a nasal and *-na* after a lateral or rhotic. However the following two examples are the only ones I have seen in the data (§6.1 shows that recipients are expressed as direct objects in Dharumbal):

(14) *gatarr-na wu-ng-i*
man-ACC give-CJ-PAST
'...gave the man (something)'

(15) *Ngatha gatarr-(n)a nha-nh.*
I.ERG man-ACC see-NPAST
'I can see a man.'

There are other examples in Holmer's data of definite specific human nouns in O function not marked with this case marker:

(16) *Ngatha wuru banda-l-ø.*
I.ERG child.ACC leave-CJ-NPAST
'I am leaving the child.'

(17) *Ngatha wuru dhanu-ga-l-i.*
I.ERG child.ACC lie-CAUS-CJ-PAST
'I have laid the child down to sleep.'

Note in the following example a near-minimal pair with example (14) given above:

(18) *Nginda wuru wu-ka.*
you.ERG child.ACC give-IMPER
'You give the child (something).'

It is possible that this suffix is used only with certain nouns; that is, that its use is lexicalised. Certainly its use is not on the same level of predictability as other case markers marking syntactic roles.

4.1.4 Locative

The Locative case marks static location, with forms *-nga* after vowels, *-ra* after *l,* and *-da* after other consonants. Note the similarity with the allomorphy for the Ergative/Instrumental case. It is possible that the allomorphs of the Ergative/Instrumental and Locative case were identical except for the final vowel (*u* for Ergative/Instrumental, *a* for Locative). This is a very common pattern in Australian languages, and certainly the Locative allomorphs we have evidence of do suggest this pattern. Some examples:

(19) *Dula-nga dhi-ka.*
log-LOC sit-IMPER
'Sit on the log!'

(20) *Wi-nga dhi-ka.*
fire-LOC sit-IMPER
'Sit by the fire!'

(21) *Wambal gurran-da dhi-nh.*
arm long-LOC sit-NPAST
'(Someone) stays on South Keppel Island.' (lit: Long Arm)

4.1.5 Ablative

The Ablative case is used to mark NPs expressing source of motion, and also source of emotion, particularly fear. It is a suffix of form *-ngam* after vowels and *-am* after consonants.

(22) *Nginda walu-ngam bunda-ø.*
you.NOM boat-ABL come-IMPER
'You come out of the boat.'

(23) *Yarraman-am ngatha birra-ngi.*
horse-ABL I.NOM fall-PAST
'I fell off the horse.'

(24) *Ngatha duluyigi-nh burrunggai-ngam.*
I.NOM fear-NPAST storm-ABL
'I am afraid of the storm.'

4.1.6 Perlative

The Perlative case probably marks NPs expressing relationships like 'through'. The following two examples are the only ones in the data. The semantics of the first example are straightforward; however the second example is not such a typical example of usual Perlative case meaning. Note that in other Pama-Nyungan languages some local cases are marked by a suffix based on the Locative suffix plus an increment (see e.g. Dixon 1980, esp. Chapter 10). It is very likely that the Perlative case in Dharumbal is actually the Locative case plus *-l*, but as we only have vowel-final variants of the marker, we cannot be sure. However if it were the case that the Perlative is formed on the basis of the Locative, we can hypothesise that there may have been a consonant-final allomorph of form *-dal*, but we have no evidence for this in Dharumbal.

(25) *Ngatha gali-ngal ya-n-ø.*
I.NOM water-PERL go-CJ-NPAST
'I am walking in /through the water.'

(26) *Ngatha walu-ngal ya-n-ø.*
I.NOM boat-PERL go-CJ-NPAST
'I am going in a boat/by boat.'

4.1.7 Goal

This case is used to mark goals: either the goal of motion (i.e. Allative in the traditional sense) or the goal of desire (i.e. Purposive). The marker of this case is suffix *-gu*.

Goal of motion:

(27) *Nginda dharum barhi gali-gu banda-ø.*
you.ERG no stone.ACC water-GOAL leave-IMPER
'Don't you throw/drop the stone into the water.'

(28) *Ngatha ganumi-gu ya-n-ø.*
I.NOM North.Keppel-GOAL go-CJ-NPAST
'I am going to North Keppel Island.'

(29) *Ngatha yamba-gu ya-n-ø.*
I.NOM camp-GOAL go-CJ-NPAST
'I am going home.'

Goal of desire:

(30) *bunda-nh guya-gu*
come-NPAST fish-GOAL
'...coming for fish/to fish'

(31) *ngidhurr-gu yigi-nh*
bread-GOAL want-NPAST
'...wants bread'

4.1.8 Possessive

Nominal possessors are marked by suffix *-ngunh*. Pronominal possessors, and possession in general, are discussed below, §6.3.

(32) *dhanggui-ngunh gulburr*
turtle-POSS egg
'turtle's egg'

(33) *mirhi-ngunh ngarhi*
dog-POSS head
'dog's head'

4.1.9 Privative

The Privative case, marked by suffix *-rama*, expresses a lack of something:

(34) *Nhula gin.gi-rama.*
he.NOM woman-PRIV
'He is without a wife.'

(35) *gali-rama*
water-PRIV
'without water'

4.2 Pronominal morphology

In this section are discussed personal pronouns, demonstratives and interrogatives.

First person singular, and second and third person personal pronouns distinguish between A/S versus O functions in their case forms. First person dual and plural pronouns show a three-way distinction in the marking of their core functions, with different forms for Ergative (A), Nominative (S) and Accusative (O) cases. All pronoun categories also distinguish Possessive, Ablative and Goal cases. In the following paradigms (for which almost all forms are cited only by Holmer 1983), it is not clear whether gaps in the tables are actual gaps or just gaps in the data. Alternative forms are as given by Holmer; it is not clear on what the alternatives are based. Some (e.g. the alternatives given for 2sg Poss) evidently reflect Holmer's uncertainty in transcription. With others (e.g. the alternative forms given for first person dual S) the difference between the use of the two forms is not known.

FIRST PERSON

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Erg	*ngatha*	*ngalirrangu*	*nganadhurrungu*
Nom	*ngatha*	*ngali(rra)*	*nganadhurru*
Acc	*nganha*	*ngalina, ngalirranga*	*nganadhurrunga, nganana*
Poss	*ngathu*	*ngalirrangunh*	*nganadhurrungunh*
Abl	*ngathunngam*	*ngalinngam*	
Goal	*ngathun.gu*	*ngalin.gu, ngalirrabagu*	*nganadhurrubagu*

SECOND PERSON

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Erg	*nginda*	*bula*	
Nom	*nginda*	*bula*	*dhanha*
Acc	*nginha*	*bulaguna*	*dhanha*
Poss	*ngin(h)in*	*bulangunh*	*dhanhangunh*
Abl	*ngininngam*		
All	*nginin.gu*		

THIRD PERSON

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Erg	*nhula*	*bula, bulagul*	
Nom	*nhula (ngula)*		*dhanha, dhanhagul (-gurr)*
Acc	*nhunguna (nguna, nguna)*		*dhanhaguna*
Poss	*nhungunh (nhunh)*	*bulaganunh, bulangunh*	*dhanhaganunh, dhanhangunh*
Abl	*nhungunngam*		
All	*nhungun.gu*		

Demonstratives function equally as nominal heads, nominal attributes and as adverbial elements. There are three stem forms: *dhinha* 'this, here'; *yinha* 'this, here' and *banha* 'that, there'. The difference between *dhinha* and *yinha* is not known. Demonstratives inflect for local cases, using case suffixes identical to or similar to allomorphs used for nouns. The demonstratives do not inflect for core functions (A, S and O); their stem form is used for these functions.

	dhinha 'this, here'	*yina* 'this, here'	*banha* 'that, there'
A, S, O	*dhinha*	*yinha*	*banha*
Loc	*dhinhanga*		*banhagai*
Abl		*yirrangam*	*banhagam (barranham)*
Goal	*dhirragu*	*yirragu*	*barragu*

Some examples of the demonstratives in use:

(36) *Nhula bunda-nh dhinha yaga-l-gu.*
he.NOM come-NPAST this.ACC make-CJ-PURP
'He comes to do this.'

(37) *Banhagai nhanhi-nh*
there.LOC stand-NPAST
'(Someone) is standing over there'

(38) *Barragu ya-n-a.*
there.GOAL go-CJ-IMPER
'Go over there.'

(39) *Yirra.ngam bunda-nh.*
here.ABL come-NPAST
'(Someone) is coming from here.'

Interrogative forms are recorded for 'who' and 'what', 'where to' and 'where from'. The former two are inflected for case. The word for 'who' makes a three-way distinction in core case marking, but it is not so clear how the word for 'what' patterns, as the forms in the paradigm below show. Both words also mark certain oblique cases. The stem forms are *ngana* 'who' and *minha* 'what'. The paradigms are as follows (gaps in the paradigms are probably just gaps in the data).

	who	what
NOM	*ngana*	*minha, minhanga*
ERG	*ngandu*	
ACC	*nganduna*	*minha*
Poss	*nganunh*	
Abl	*nganunngam*	*minhangam*
All	*nganun.gu*	*minhagu*
Loc		*minhanga*

The interrogative word always come first in question sentences. Some examples:

(40) *Minhangam duluyigi-nh?*
what.ABL fear-NPAST
'What are (you) afraid of?'

(41) *Minha nginda yaga-l-ø?*
what.ACC you.ERG make-CJ-NPAST
'What are you making/doing?'

(42) *Ngandu yaga-l-gun?*
who.ERG make-CJ-FAR.PAST
'Who made (it) (long ago)?'

There are two examples of locational interrogatives: *wundali* 'where to' and *wundanham* 'where from'. Note that one might expect *wunda-ngam* 'where-ABL' rather than *wundanham* for the form for 'where from':

(43) *Wundali nginda ya-n-ø?*
where.to you.NOM go-CJ-NPAST
'Where are you going?'

(44) *Wundanham bunda-nh?*
where.from come-NPAST
'Where do (you) come from?'

4.3 Adjectives

Adjectives are morphologically unmarked. There are three clear adjectives in the data. They can function as adjuncts, or as the predicates of non-verbal clauses:

(45) *Nhula gului bunda-ny.*
he.NOM angry come-NPAST
'He is getting angry.'

(46) *Nhula, wuru gunim dhanu-ny.*
he.NOM child.NOM asleep lie-NPAST
'He, the child is lying asleep.'

(47) *Yarraman gurha bunda-ny.*
horse.NOM sick come-NPAST
'The horse is sick.'

(48) *Wumbu ngatha gurha.*
throat.NOM I.NOM sick
'I have a sore throat.'

5 *Verbal morphology*

Verbs consist of a stem followed by derivational affixes, then conjugation markers, then tense/mood affixes. All verbs must have a tense/mood suffix (although some categories in some conjugations are marked by zero).

There are eight verb conjugations. Verbs can be broadly divided into two groups; monosyllabic stems and polysyllabic stems. Within these two divisions, verbs can further be divided into conjugations, which bear some correlation to valency, and are otherwise unpredictable.

The conjugation class of a verb determines the form of its tense and mood suffixes, as set out in the paradigms below (gaps in the paradigms are gaps in the data; conjugation markers are separated from tense/mood suffixes by hyphens where applicable):

CONJUGATION	NON-PAST	PAST	FAR PAST	PURPOSIVE	IMPERATIVE
Ø (open)	*-nh*	*-ngi*	*-yun*	*-gu, -yi*	*-ø*
RR class (open)	*-rr-ø*	*-rr-i*		*-rr-u*	*-rr-ga, -rr-a*
L class (open)	*-l-ø*	*-l-i*	*-l-gun*	*-l-gu*	*-ø*
dha 'eat' class	*-l-ø*	*-l-i*			*-l-a -ga*
N class (only *ma* 'take' *dhu* 'tell' *ya* 'go')	*-n-ø*	*-n-i*		*-n-gu, -n-dhayu*	*-n-a*
M class (only *bu* 'hit')	*-nh*	*-m-i*			*-m-a*
NG1 class (only *ga* 'take' *nha* 'see' *wa* 'cook')	*-nh*	*-ng-i*		*-gu/-yu/ -yayu*	*-nga/-ga*
NG2 class (only *wu* 'give' *dhi* 'sit')	*-nh*	*-ng-i*		*-thayu*	*-ka*

The Ø, L and RR conjugations all contain only polysyllabic verbs. The Ø conjugation is the most common, and contains only intransitive verbs. Examples of members of this conjugation include *bunda* 'come'; *ngiri* 'cry' and *birra* 'fall'. The L conjugation contains only transitive verbs. Some examples include *dabi* 'throw'; *banda* 'leave'; *bungga* 'make'. The RR conjugation consists of only a few verbs, all transitive, including for example *dhakarr* 'kick'; *dhutarr* 'push over' and *wulagarr* 'put out (fire)'. The other conjugations are closed classes with only a few members in each one, all of which are monosyllabic.

The NG1 and 2 classes are so named on the basis of the *ng* which appears in the past tense marker. They are both clearly a reflex of the Proto Pama-Nyungan NG conjugation (Dixon 1980:403-404). The two classes differ only in the forms of Purposive and Imperative.

The *dha* class and the L class appear both to be reflexes of the Proto Pama-Nyungan L class, which have diverged in Dharumbal in the form of their Imperative suffixes. Note that all members of the L class are polysyllabic, which perhaps suggests a motivation for the historical development in Dharumbal of a separate class for monosyllabic *dha* 'eat'. Dharumbal has clearly undergone a process whereby all monosyllabic verbs are separated into different conjugations from polysyllabic verbs.

All other conjugations are direct reflexes of Proto Pama-Nyungan verb conjugations (see Dixon 1980:401-408 for a description and reconstruction of the Proto Pama-Nyungan verbal conjugation system). Dixon (1980:384) notes the archaism of languages in certain pockets on the east coast of Australia. He mentions Guugu Yimidhirr and Nyawaygi in this context, and Dharumbal is clearly also another extreme example of conservatism in its verbal conjugations.

The synchronic position of the conjugation marker segments in their respective conjugations is not clear (as Holmer 1983:466 also notes with respect to the monosyllabic verbs). It is difficult to know whether they belong to the verb stem or to the tense or mood suffix. However there is a wealth of comparative evidence to show the historical origin of conjugation markers in Pama-Nyungan languages (see e.g. Dixon 1980, esp. Chapter 12), and indeed it seems somewhat pedantic to insist on a purely synchronic analysis for them. For this reason, I follow most Pama-Nyungan descriptions in separating the conjugation markers from both the verb stem and the tense/aspect or other verbal morphology by hyphens; thus on one level at least avoiding an analytical decision about where they properly belong.

5.1 Tense and mood

There are three tenses: Non-Past, Past and Far Past. There are also two moods: Purposive and Imperative. All are marked by verb suffixes, and none can combine with other tense or mood suffixes, although they can combine with derivational suffixes.

The following sections describe and exemplify the use of each tense or mood suffix.

5.1.1 Non-Past

The Non-Past tense is used for events occurring concurrently with (49), (50), after (51), and habitually (52) with respect to the time of the speech event:

(49) *Wanga-ru nganha bu-ny.*
boomerang-INSTR I. ACC hit-NPAST
'(He) is hitting me with a boomerang.'

(50) *Yamal bungga-l-ø.*
rain.ACC make-CJ-NPAST
'It is raining.'

(51) *Ngatha nginha bu-nh.*
I.ERG you.ACC hit-NPAST
'I will hit you.'

(52) *Nhula gali birra-ga-l-ø.*
she.ERG water.ACC fall-CAUS-CJ-NPAST
'She is always spilling water.'

5.1.2 Past

The Past tense is used for events occurring before the time of the speech event:

(53) *Nhula ya-n-i.*
he.NOM go-CJ-PAST
'He has gone.'

(54) *Yarraman-am ngatha birra-ngi.*
horse-ABL I.NOM fall-PAST
'I fell off the horse.'

5.1.3 Far Past

The Far Past tense is used for events occurring a significant time before the time before the speech event. It is not known whether the Past and Far Past have any overlap in reference; that is, whether the Past was a general cover-term used for any events occurring before now and the Far Past only for distant events; or whether there was no overlap, and possible reference with the Past tense ended at the moment at which possible reference with the Far Past tense began. If the latter was the case, at what point the Past tense would cease to be useable and the Far Past tense come in is unknown. In Holmer's data, events translated as 'long ago' generally use the Far Past tense; all others generally use the Past.

(55) *Ngatha gurha dhanu-yun.*
I.NOM sick lie-FAR.PAST
'I was sick (some time ago).'

(56) *Ngandu yaga-l-gun?*
who.ERG make-CJ-FAR.PAST
'Who made (it) (long ago)?'

(57) *Gatarr-u yaga-l-gun.*
man-ERG make-CJ-FAR.PAST
'The man made (it) long ago.'

5.1.4 Imperative

The Imperative is used to express commands. The Imperative is used both for second person reference (58), (59) and for first person reference (i.e. hortative) (60):

(58) *Nginda yinha nhanhi-ø.*
you.NOM here stand-IMPER
'You stand here.'

(59) *Gulburr wi-nga wa-nga.*
egg fire-LOC cook-IMPER
'Cook the egg on the fire.'

(60) *Ngali batha ya-n-a.*
we.du.NOM back go-CJ-IMPER
'Let us go back.'

Negative Imperatives are expressed with the negative particle *dharum* 'no' and the Imperative suffix on the verb:

(61) *Dharum dha-l-a.*
no eat-CJ-IMPER
'Don't you eat or drink it.'

5.1.5 Purposive

The Purposive suffix is used to express an intention. It is commonly used to express the complement of the verb *yigi* 'want'. The Purposive suffix can be used on main or dependent verbs (see §6.4.2 below).

(62) *Nhula bunda-nh nganha dhu-n-gu.*
he.NOM come-NPAST me.ACC tell-CJ-PURP
'He comes to tell me.'

(63) *Nhula wu-thayu yigi-nh.*
he.NOM give-PURP want-NPAST
'He wants to give.'

(64) *Nhula yigi-nh yanggarri-gu.*
he.NOM want-NPAST run-PURP
'He wants to run.'

The Purposive can also be used to express imminent but not necessarily intentional action:

(65) *Nhula birra-gu.*
he.NOM fall-PURP
'He is going to fall.'

(66) *Nhula ngiri-gu.*
he.NOM cry-PURP
'He is about to cry.'

Note that there are two verbs which have been observed taking more than one Purposive suffix in different instances. For instance in the following fragment *nha* 'see' seems to take three different suffixes, all with apparently the same meaning:

(67) *'Yani ngalirranga nha-yu (nha-gu, nha-yayu).*
? us.du.ACC see-PURP see-PURP see-PURP
'(Someone) went to see us two.'

There are a few possibilities here. These could be morphological variants with the same meaning, as the translation implies; or they could be completely different suffixes with different meanings not reflected in the translation; or the three variants could be due to mistakes or misunderstandings on the part of either the informant or the recorder. Note that all three forms are found as Purposive markers in various of the verb conjugations, lending weight to the possibility that they are in fact three morphological variants of *nha* 'see' plus the Purposive suffix.

5.2 Verbal derivation

There are four derivational suffixes which may be added to verbs: the Causative is added to intransitive verbs and renders them transitive. The Intransitiviser, the Reflexive and the Reciprocal all derive intransitive verbs from transitives.

5.2.1 Causative

There are a number of Causative suffixes in the data: *-nhdha*, *-ngga*, *-ngiga*, *-nhaga* and *-ga*. Their distribution does not follow the verb conjugations, and some verbs are found occurring with more than one of the suffixes on different occasions. It is possible that there are semantic differences between the suffixes which are not now recoverable. All of the causative suffixes are similar in that they occur on intransitive verbs and create transitive verbs. The subject of the intransitive verb corresponds to the object of the causative verb. All the causative suffixes create transitive verbs of the L conjugation. Some examples:

intransitive *birra* 'fall'

(68) *Gulburr birra-ngi.*
egg.NOM fall-PAST
'The egg fell.'

causative *birra* 'fall':

(69) *Gali birra-ga-ø!*
water.ACC fall-CAUS-IMPER
'Empty the water!'

intransitive *nhanhi* 'stand':

(70) *Banhagai nhanhi-nh.*
over.there stand-NPAST
'(Someone) is standing over there.'

causative *nhanhi* 'stand':

(71) *Ngatha nhunguna nhanh(dh)i-ga-l-ø.*
I.ERG him.ACC stand-CAUS-CJ-NPAST
'I am standing him up.'

(72) *Ngatha wuru nhanhi-nhdha-l-ø.*
I.ERG child.ACC stand-CAUS-CJ-NPAST
'I am standing the child up.'

It was said above that causativised verbs belong to the L conjugation. However in the following fragments, this is not the case:

(73) *Nhanhi-ngga-yu yigi-nh.*
stand-CAUS-PURP want-NPAST
'(Someone) want(s) to stand (him) up.'

(74) *Dhi-nhaga-yu yigi-nh.*
sit-CAUS-PURP want-NPAST
'(Someone) want(s) to make (him) sit.'

The Purposive suffix for the L conjugation is *-l-gu*. The Purposive suffixes for underived *nhanhi* 'stand' and *dhi* 'sit' are *-gu* and *-thayu* respectively. It is hard to know what to make of these two fragments. It is possible that causative verbs form their own verb conjugation; unfortunately there are no other instances of causativised verbs occurring with tense or mood morphology, so we cannot tell. Another possibility is that *-yu* is just another Purposive variant for the L conjugation.

5.2.2 Intransitiviser

There is a suffix *-ngi* which occurs only on the transitive monosyllabic verb *wa* 'burn' in the data and renders it intransitive:

(75) *Dhugurr wa-ngi-nh.*
meat.NOM burn-INTR-NPAST
'The meat is burning (being burned).'

(76) *Wi wa-ngi-nh.*
fire.NOM burn-INTR-NPAST
'The fire is burning.'

Compare the underived form of *wa*:

(77) *Dharum dhugurr wa-ga.*
no meat.ACC cook-IMPER
'Don't burn the meat.'

The intransitivised forms show a semantic difference. In example (75), the subject of the derived verb ('meat') corresponds to the object of the underived verb. In example (76), the subject of the underived verb ('fire') corresponds to the subject of the derived verb. The only way to understand the argument roles here is by pragmatics, rather than by morpho-syntax.

There is another possible example of this or a similar suffix on *nha* 'see'. Note however the longer form of the suffix. Note also the reflexive translation given by Holmer.

(78) *nha-ngingi-nh*
see-INTR?-NPAST
'look at oneself'

5.2.3 Reflexive

There is a reflexive suffix *-li*, which appears on only one verb in the data, *batha* 'bite'.

(79) *Nhula batha-li-ngi.*
he.NOM bite-REFL-PAST
'He bit himself.'

Compare the underived form of this verb:

(80) *Dharum nginda nganha batha-ø.*
no you.ERG me.ACC bite-IMPER
'Don't you bite me.'

Unfortunately it is not known which conjugation *batha* 'bite' belongs to. However the derived verb *bathali* clearly belongs to the Ø conjugation, judging by the Past tense suffix *-ngi*. As the Ø conjugation contains only intransitive verbs we may infer that *batha*, a base transitive verb, does not belong in this conjugation, and therefore the fact that *batha* takes Ø-conjugation morphology is due to the presence of the Reflexive suffix. We may hypothesise from this that all reflexive verbs belong to the Ø conjugation.

5.2.4 Reciprocal

There are two reciprocal suffixes in the data, *-ba* and *-la*. The difference between them is unknown; note the verb *nhaya* 'look' occurs with each of them:

(81) *Bulagul bathi-ba-ny.*
two.NOM fight-RECIP-NPAST
'The two are fighting each other.'

(82) *Nhaya-ba-yun.*
look-RECIP-FAR.PAST
'(They) looked at one another.'

(83) *Ngalirra nha-la-nh.*
we.du.NOM see-RECIP-NPAST
'We two are looking at one another.'

(84) *Nhaya-la-nh.*
look-RECIP-NPAST
'(They) look at one another.'

The evidence here suggests that the Reciprocal suffix, like the Reflexive, derives verbs of the Ø conjugation.

5.3 An anomalous verb

There is one verb in the data which behaves anomalously with respect to verbal inflection: *bundabari* 'bring'. Holmer cites it as *bundabari(ng),* alternating with *bundalbari(ng),* with perfective (my Past tense) form *bunda(l)baringi.* It occurs in the following examples:

(85) *Gali ngathu bundabari.*
water.ACC my.POSS bring
'Bring me water.'

(86) *Nginda nhunguna bundalbari.*
you.ERG her.ACC bring
'You bring her.'

(87) *Guya ngatha bundabaring.*
fish.ACC I.NOM bring
'Bring my fish.'

(88) *Gali ngatha nginin.gu bundabaring.*
water.ACC I.ERG you-GOAL bring
'I will bring you water.'

There are a few anomalies here. First, the role of the *l* is unclear. Second, the role of this final velar nasal *ng* is unclear; it is difficult to know what determines its presence of absence. The past tense form adds an *-i,* which suggests that the verb does not belong to any of the known conjugations. Thirdly, there are no tense or mood inflections on this verb, which is in itself anomalous; all other verbs obligatorily appear with a tense/mood inflection. Note that Dutton (1907) also cites this verb, 'boondah baring', with meaning 'come here'.

6 *Notes on syntax*

Unfortunately, little syntactic information can be recovered from the data, however we can make certain statements about constituent order, basic clause structure, possession, some types of complex clauses and negation.

6.1 Basic clause structure

There are five types of basic clauses: intransitive, transitive, di-transitive, verbless and semi-transitive.

Intransitive clauses have one core argument (in nominative case):

(89) *Garhi nhinda-nh.*
sun.NOM go.down-NPAST
'The sun is going down.'

(90) *Nhula nhan(dh)i-nh.*
he.NOM stand-NPAST
'He is standing.'

Transitive clauses have two core arguments, transitive subject (in ergative case) and a transitive object (in accusative case):

(91) *Ngatha nhunguna nhanh(dh)i-ga-l-ø.*
I.ERG him.ACC stand-CAUS-CJ-NPAST
'I am standing him up.'

(92) *Ngatha dhugurr wa-nh.*
I.ERG meat.ACC cook-NPAST
'I am going to put the meat on.'

(93) *Ngatha nginha dhu-n-ø.*
I.ERG you.ACC tell-CJ-NPAST
'I will tell you.'

Di-transitive clauses have only been found with the verb *wu* 'give'. The giver is expressed as a transitive subject (in the data, always an ergative pronoun); the recipient is expressed as an object (in the data, an accusative pronoun) and the gift as an unmarked noun:

(94) *Nhula nhunguna dalburr wu-ng-i.*
he.ERG him.ACC name give-CJ-PAST
'He gave him a name.'

(95) *Gali, ngidhurr nganha wu-ka.*
water bread me.ACC give-IMPER
'Give me water, bread.'

Verbless clauses have two NPs, one an intransitive subject (nominative case), the other marked according to its semantic relationship to its subject:

(96) *Nhugul nginin.*
that.NOM you.POSS
'That is yours.'

(97) *Nhula nhupadhari-rama.*
she.NOM husband-PRIV
'She is without a husband.'

6.2 Constituent order

Constituent order is not fixed according to syntactic rule; presumably there were pragmatic rules governing constituent order, but these are no longer recoverable. Verbs tend to come last in a sentence, and transitive subjects tend to come before objects, but other possibilities are frequently encountered. Some examples of the most common orders for core constituents found in the data:

(98) *Nhula ngayal dhu-n-ø.*
he.ERG lie.ACC tell-CJ-NPAST
'He tells lies.'

(99) *Nhula gului bungga-l-ø ngunguna.*
he.ERG angry make-CJ-NPAST him.ACC
'He is making him angry.'

Oblique arguments can occur in any position:

(100) *Nginda walu-ngam bunda-ø.*
you.NOM boat-ABL come-IMPER
'You come out of the boat.'

(101) *Dula-ngam wuru birra-nh.*
log-ABL child.NOM fall-NPAST
'The child fell from the log.'

(102) *Nginda bunda-ø ngathun.-gu.*
you.NOM come-IMPER me-GOAL
'You come to me.'

It seems that neither subject nor object NPs are obligatory in a sentence, at least if they are third person singular:

(103) *Nginda dhanu-ga-ø.*
you.ERG lie-CAUS-IMPER
'You lay (him) down to sleep.'

(104) *Nganha ngili wa-ng-i.*
me.ACC hand.ACC cook-CJ-PAST
'(The fire) burned my hand.'

Objects are ellipsed far more frequently than subjects. Note that, while ellipsis is common, all the sentences in the data have at least one core NP expressed.

Subjects of Imperative verbs are very frequently ellipsed, although they can always occur overtly in the sentence:

(105) *Dharum yanggarri-ø.*
no run-IMPER
'Don't run.'

(106) *Nginda yinha nhanhi-ø.*
you.NOM here stand-IMPER
'You stand here.'

6.3 Possession

Possessors are marked by the Possessive case, and whether the possessor is nominal or pronominal the structure of possession is the same. Generally the NP expressing the possessor precedes that expressing the possessee, but this is not obligatory. There appears to be no difference in the expression of different semantic types of possession; kinship, body part and alienable possession for example are expressed in the same way. Some examples:

(107) *Ngathu bina bunda-ngi.*
my.POSS father.NOM come-PAST
'My father came.'

(108) *Gali ngathu bundabari.*
water.ACC my.POSS bring
'Bring my water.'

Predicative possession is expressed using the same forms as attributive possession:

(109) *Nhugul nginin.*
that you.POSS
'That is yours.'

(110) *dhanggui-ngunh gulburr*
turtle-POSS egg
'turtle's egg'

There are examples of possessor raising (note that (111) is repeated from (104) above):

(111) *Nganha ngili wa-ng-i.*
me.ACC hand.ACC cook-CJ-PAST
'(The fire) burned my hand.'

(112) *Wumbu ngatha gurha.*
throat.NOM I.NOM sick
'I have a sore throat.'

6.4 Complex clauses

The only complex clauses in the data are complement clauses and purposive clauses.

6.4.1 Complement clauses

Complement clauses appear with the verb *yigi* 'want'. *Yigi* is an intransitive verb, and it takes either nominal complements, which are functionally oblique NPs marked with the Goal case; or verbal complements, which are clauses functioning as oblique adjuncts to *yigi*, marked with the Purposive verbal suffix. First, *yigi* with a nominal complement:

(113) *Ngidhurr-gu yigi-nh.*
bread-GOAL want-NPAST
'(Someone) wants bread.'

Yigi taking Purposive-marked complement clauses:

(114) *Nhula yigi-nh yanggarri-gu.*
he.NOM want-NPAST run-PURP
'He wants to run.'

(115) *Nhanhi-yi yigi-nh.*
stand-PURP want-NPAST
'(Someone) want(s) to stand.'

(116) *Dhakarr-u yigi-nh.*
kick-PURP want-NPAST
'(Someone) wants to kick.'

Yigi can also occur in a construction with a clause marked with a tense suffix rather than the Purposive:

(117) *Nhula yigi-nh yanggarri-nh.*
he.NOM want-NPAST run-NPAST
'He wants to run.'

In this example, there are a few analytical possibilities. The clause of *yanggarri* could be a complement clause like the Purposive-marked ones; or the relationship between the clauses could be one of dependence, or they could be two independent clauses in juxtaposition. Unfortunately there is no record of intonation to help with the analysis.

6.4.2 Purposive clauses

Purposive clauses are subordinate adverbial clauses, functioning as modifiers to their main clause, expressing the reason for the action of the main clause:

(118) *Nhula bunda-nh nganha dhu-n-gu.*
he.NOM come-NPAST me.ACC tell-CJ-PURP
'He comes to tell me.'

(119) *Nginda bunda-ø ma-n-gu dhinha.*
you.NOM come-IMPER take-CJ-PURP this.ACC
'You come to take this.'

6.5 Negation

Negation is accomplished by means of the negative particle *dharum* 'no'. This particle negates clauses:

(120) *Nginda dharum barhi gali-gu banda-ø.*
you.ERG no stone.ACC water-GOAL throw-IMPER
'You don't throw the stone into the water.'

(121) *Dharum nginda dhugurr wali-ngga-ø.*
no you.ERG meat.ACC be.bad-CAUS-IMPER
'Don't you destroy the meat.'

(122) *Bula dharum batha-ba-ø.*
two no bite-RECIP-IMPER
'Don't you two bite one another.'

It is also found negating NPs, but only as a nonverbal predicate:

(123) *Gali dharum.*
water no
'There is no water.'

(124) *Dharum gin.gil.*
no woman
'He has no wife.'

7 *Dharumbal lexicon*

This lexicon consists of two parts. First is an English–Dharumbal list, in which the words are arranged in groups by meaning, and then alphabetically by English word, within those groups. The words are arranged in the following groups: body parts; human/kinship terms; animals and reptiles; birds; sea and river creatures; insects; plants; natural phenomena; artefacts; miscellaneous; actions/states; qualities; numbers/amounts; locationals; place names. Following this is a Dharumbal–English word list, with Dharumbal words listed alphabetically with their English meanings.

In the first column of the word list is the English word, and in the second column is the probable form of the Dharumbal word, spelt in the orthography outlined in the grammar above. The third column shows all the citations for that word.

7.1 English–Dharumbal

7.1.1 Body parts

English	Dharumbal	Sources
ankle	*wul*	worl (Leney 1904)
	mathin	methen (Dutton 1907)
		mat-tin (Roth 1897a)[1]
	bakul	pa-kul (Roth 1897b)
		pa-kul (Roth 1897c)
		pa-kul (Roth 1897d)
		ba-kul (Roth 1897e)
arm	*guini*	guine (Leney 1904)
	wambal	wombal (Dutton 1907)
		wam-bal (forearm) (Roth 1897b)
		wam-bal (Roth 1897c)
		wom-bal (forearm) (Roth 1897d)
		wam-bal (forearm) (Roth 1897e)

1 Roth uses various unexplained diacritics on the vowels, which have not been transcribed here.

		wambal (Holmer 1983)
	gulgul	kul-kul (Roth 1897a)
		kul-kul (Roth 1897b)
		kul-koll (Roth 1897d)
	maybal	mai-pal (forearm) (Roth 1897a)
	dundun	tun-dun (forearm) (Roth 1897c)
	mungan	mu-ngan (Roth 1897e)
back(bone)	*?*	carmumdagual (Leney 1904)
	gunggal	koongal (Dutton 1907)
		konggal (Tindale 1938)
		kung-kal (Roth 1897a)
		kung-kal (Roth 1897c)
	unggal	ung-kal (Roth 1897b)
	ungal	ong-al (Roth 1897e)
	gutul	gutul (Holmer 1983)
		ko-toll (Roth 1897d)
beard	*ngan.ga*	unga (Dutton 1907)
		ngang-ka (Roth 1897a)
		ngang-ka (Roth 1897b)
		ngang-ka (Roth 1897c)
		ngang-ka (Roth 1897d)
		ngangga (Hatfield)
		anga (Muller 1886)
		anka (Archer 1886)
		ngangga, gangga (Donald)
	gan.ga	gangga (Holmer 1983)
		gangga (Dooley, Cubby)
	anun	an-nun (Roth 1897e)
belly	*guana*	goouna (Leney 1904)
	bulu	bul:u (Tindale 1938)
		bul-lu (Roth 1897a)
		pul-lu (Roth 1897c)
		pul-lo (Roth 1897d)
		bal-lu (Roth 1897e)
		booloo (Muller 1886)
		bolloo (Archer 1886)
		bulu (Holmer 1983)
blood	*gawun*	carwoon (Leney 1904)
		ka-wun (Roth 1897a)

		ka-wun (Roth 1897b)
		ka-wun (Roth 1897c)
		ka-wun (Roth 1897d)
		gawoon (Muller 1886)
		kawoon (Archer 1886)
		gawun, gumal (Holmer 1983)
	umal	o-mal (Roth 1897e)
	uma	om:a (Tindale 1938)
bone	*rilu*	ril-lu, ri-del-lo, mu-ta-li (Roth 1897a)
		ril-lu (Roth 1897b)
		ril-lu (Roth 1897c)
	ilu	el-lo (Roth 1897d)
	ralu	ral-lu (Roth 1897e)
	dilu	tilloo (Archer 1886)
		dilu (Holmer 1983)
		billoo (Muller 1886)
bowels	*gurui*	ku-roi (Roth 1897b)
		ku-rói (Roth 1897c)
	raranh	ra-rain (Roth 1897d)
	gunan	koonan (Muller 1886)
	?	tuidil (Archer 1886)
breast	*ngamba*	ngamba (Tindale 1938)
		ampa (Muller 1886)
	ngamun	ngammun (nipple) (Roth 1897a)
		ngam-mun (Roth 1897b)
		ngam-mun (Roth 1897c)
		ngammunj (Doug Hatfield)
		ammou (Archer 1886)
	mam	mam (Roth 1897d)
		mam (Roth 1897e)
		ngamun, mam (Holmer 1983)
buttocks	*nhiri*	ner-ri (Roth 1897a)
	butu	pu-tu (Roth 1897b)
		pu-tu (Roth 1897c)
	dil	till (Roth 1897d)
	batu	ba-to (Roth 1897e)
cheek	*muku*	mo-ko (Roth 1897a)

		mo-ko (Roth 1897b)
		mo-ko (Roth 1897c)
		mo-ko (Roth 1897d)
		mo-ko (Roth 1897e)
		mok:o (jaw) (Tindale 1938)
chest	*ngamba*	umba (Dutton 1907)
	yilang	yell-ang (Roth 1897a)
chin	*ngan.ga*	ngan.ga (Tindale 1938)
		ngang-ka (Roth 1897a)
		ngang-ka (Roth 1897b)
	anu	an-nu (Roth 1897e)
ear	*bina*	peedver (Leney 1904)
		bina (Dutton 1907)
		bin:a (Tindale 1938)
		bin-na (Roth 1897a)
		bin-na (Roth 1897c)
		pin-na (Roth 1897d)
		pin-na (Roth 1897e)
		bina (Muller 1886)
		pinna (Archer 1886)
		biNa (Holmer 1983)
		binang (Hatfield)
		binang (Donald)
	manguri	ma-ngu-ri (Roth 1897b)
egg	*gulburr*	koolpoor (Muller 1886)
		koolpoor (Archer 1886)
		gulburr (Holmer 1983)
elbow	*gulgul*	kul-kul (Roth 1897a)
		kul-kul (Roth 1897b)
		kul-kul (Roth 1897c)
		kul-koll (Roth 1897d)
	ukal	o-kal (Roth 1897e)
excrement	*guna*	ku-na (Roth 1897a)
		ku-na (Roth 1897b)
		ku-na (Roth 1897c)
		ku-na (Roth 1897d)
		guNa (Holmer 1983)

	gunang	koonan (Muller 1886) koonnang (Archer 1886)
eye	*mil*	meal (Leney 1904) maal (Dutton 1907) meeal (Meston n.d.) mail (Tindale 1938) mil (Roth 1897a) mil (Roth 1897b) mil (Roth 1897c) mil (Roth 1897d) mil (Roth 1897e) meel (Muller 1886) mill (Archer 1886) mil (Holmer 1983) mil (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
eyebrow	*yundu*	yundu (Tindale 1938) yun-du (Roth 1897a) yun-du (Roth 1897b) yun-du (Roth 1897c)
	dinan	ti-nan (Roth 1897d)
fat	*balgi*	bulkee (Leney 1904) balge (Muller 1886) talki (Archer 1886)
fingers	*balngan*	pal-ngan (Roth 1897a) ba-ngan (Roth 1897c) pal-ngan (Roth 1897d)
flank	*walga* *raranh*	wal-ka (Roth 1897a) ra-ren (Roth 1897b) ra-ren (Roth 1897c) ra-ráin (Roth 1897d) ra-ran (Roth 1897e)
foot	*dhina*	thinna (foot, toes) (Leney 1904) thinya (Dutton 1907) din:a (Tindale 1938) tin-na (Roth 1897a) tin-na (Roth 1897b)

		tin-na (Roth 1897c)
		tin-na (Roth 1897d)
		tin-na (Roth 1897e)
		dinna (Muller 1886)
		dinna (Archer 1886)
		DiNa (Holmer 1983)
		dina (Hatfield)
		dhina (Dooley, Cubby)
		dhina (Donald)
		dhɛnha (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
forehead	*din.gu*	dinko (Leney 1904)
	gali	gal:i (Tindale 1938)
	yali	yal-li (Roth 1897a)
		yel-li (Roth 1897b)
		yel-li (Roth 1897c)
		yel-li (Roth 1897d)
		yal-li (Roth 1897e)
hair	*dara*	turrah (Leney 1904)
	manam	munum (Dutton 1907)
		man-nam (Roth 1897b)
		man-nam (Roth 1897c)
		man-nam (Roth 1897d)
		manam (Muller 1886)
		mannan (Archer 1886)
		manam (Holmer 1983)
	ngarhi (=head)	ngari (Tindale 1938)
	gambanh	kam-pain (Roth 1897a)
	gam	kam (Roth 1897e)
hand	*biru*	biroo (Leney 1904)
	ngili	illi (Dutton 1907)
		illee (Meston n.d.)
		nil:i (Tindale 1938)
		nil-li (Roth 1897a)
		nil-li (Roth 1897b)
		nil-li (Roth 1897c)
		nil-li (Roth 1897d)
		nal-li (Roth 1897e)
		nelli (Muller 1886)
		illy (Archer 1886)
		ngili (Holmer 1983)

		ngili (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
	bangan	ba-ngan (Roth 1897b)
head	*ngarhi*	naree (Leney 1904)
		nurree (Dutton 1907)
		ngarree (Meston n.d.)
		na-ri (Roth 1897a)
		na-ri (Roth 1897b)
		na-ri (Roth 1897c)
		naue (Muller 1886)
		ngarrie (Archer 1886)
		ngaRi (Holmer 1983)
	arhi	a-ri (Roth 1897e)
	manam	manam (Tindale 1938)
	gam	kam (Roth 1897d)
head of hair	*warun*	waroon (Leney 1904)
heart	*dulgu*	doolgo (Leney 1904)
	wangga	wangga (Holmer 1983)
kidney	*rindu?*	rintu: (?) (Tindale 1938)
knee	*bikal*	bickall (Leney 1904)
	gagiran	ka-ki-ra, ri-ran (Roth 1897a)
	riran	ri-ran (Roth 1897b)
	waka	wak-ka (Roth 1897c)
		wak-ka (Roth 1897d)
		wak-ka (Roth 1897e)
		waka (Holmer 1983)
		wak-ka (thigh) (Roth 1897b)
leg	*bi*	bee (Leney 1904)
	gal	kahl (Dutton 1907)
		ka-al (thigh) (Archer 1886)
		kal (Roth 1897b)
		kal (Roth 1897c)
		kal (Roth 1897d)
	wulman	wul-man (Roth 1897a)
	bakul	ba-kul (Roth 1897e)
		bak^{h}ul (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
	dharha	bakul, DaRa, ga:l (Holmer 1983)

lip	*munu*	mum:u (Tindale 1938) mu-no (Roth 1897a) mu-nu (Roth 1897b) mu-nu (Roth 1897c) mu-no, pi (Roth 1897d) man-nu (Roth 1897e) munu (Holmer 1983) moonoo (Doug Hatfield.) munno (mouth) (Archer 1886)
liver	*gipa*	gipa (Holmer 1983)
loins	*barang*	barang (Roth 1897a)
moustache	*mununhan*	mu-nu-nyan (Roth 1897a)
mouth	*ganh* *dangga*	gain (Leney 1904) runga (Dutton 1907) rangga (Tindale 1938) danga (Muller 1886) dangga (Holmer 1983)
nail	*ridhal* *bigai* *yakil*	re-chal (Roth 1897a) pi-gai (Roth 1897b) pi-gai (Roth 1897d) ya-kil (Roth 1897c) ya-kil (Roth 1897e)
neck	*bimbi* *wumba*	bimpi (Leney 1904) womba (Dutton 1907) wum-bo (Roth 1897a) wum-bu (Roth 1897b) wum-bo (Roth 1897c) wum-bo (Roth 1897d) wom-ba (Roth 1897e) wumbu (throat) (Holmer 1983)
nose	*?* *wurhu*	moso (Leney 1904) wurra (Dutton 1907) wuru, uru (Tindale 1938) wu-ru (Roth 1897a) wu-ru (Roth 1897b) wu-ru (Roth 1897c) wu-ro (Roth 1897d)

		wu-ru (Roth 1897e)
		wooroo (Muller 1886)
		wooroo (Archer 1886)
		wuRu (nose, face) (Holmer 1983)
		wurra (face) (Dutton 1907)
		wurhu (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
nostril	*yuna*	yu-na (Roth 1897a)
		yu-na (Roth 1897d)
	nala	nal-la (Roth 1897b)
	wurhu yuna	wuru yu-na (=nose hole) (Roth 1897c)
penis	*yawu, murrgin*	ya-wo, murr-kin (Roth 1897a)
	dunggal	tung-gal (Roth 1897b)
		tung-gal (Roth 1897c)
		tun-kal (Roth 1897d)
		tung-kal (Roth 1897e)
shoulder	*ngukun*	ngo-kun (Roth 1897a)
	nirrgal	nir-kal (Roth 1897b)
		nir-kal (Roth 1897c)
		nir-kal (Roth 1897d)
	irrgal	ir-kal (Roth 1897e)
skin	*?*	winnooer (Muller 1886)
	nhuman	niman (Dutton 1907)
		nooman (Archer 1886)
		Numan (Holmer 1983)
teeth	*gira*	keerah (Leney 1904)
		kirra (Archer 1886)
	dira	derah (Leney 1904)
		dir-ah (Gir-oonbah 1894)
		tir-ra (Roth 1897a)
		di̲ra (Holmer 1983)
	rira	rir:a (Tindale 1938)
		ri-ra (Roth 1897e)
		ri-ra (Roth 1897b)
		ri-ra (Roth 1897c)
	ira	ir-ra (Roth 1897d)
	nira	neera (Muller 1886)

gap between teeth	*bangga*	bangga (Holmer 1983)
testicles	*rugul*	ru-goll (Roth 1897a) ru-oll (Roth 1897b) ro-gol (Roth 1897c) ru-oll (Roth 1897d)
	ruli	ru-li (Roth 1897e)
thigh	*dharha* (cf. leg)	tharra (Leney 1904) thurra (Dutton 1907) ta-ra (Roth 1897a) ta-ra (Roth 1897c) ta-ra (Roth 1897d) ta-ra (Roth 1897e) darra (Muller 1886)
thumb	*murrgin*	mur-kin, ai-ar (Roth 1897a) mur-kin (Roth 1897c) mur-kin (Roth 1897d)
tongue	*dhalanh*	talanj (Tindale 1938) tal-lain (Roth 1897a) tal-len (Roth 1897b) tal-lan (Roth 1897c) tal-lain (Roth 1897d) tal-li (Roth 1897e) tallang (Muller 1886) talain (Archer 1886) DalaN (Holmer 1983)
	dalang	dalang (Donald) dullung (Doug Hatfield)
umbilicus	*ura*	o-ra (Roth 1897a)
	gurrgu	kur-ko (Roth 1897b)
	yuna (=hole)	yu-na (Roth 1897c)
	dindil	tin-dil (Roth 1897d)
	dinil	tin-il (Roth 1897e)
urine	*gaburu*	ka-bu-ru (Roth 1897a) ka-bu-ru (Roth 1897b) ka-bu-ru (Roth 1897c) ka-bu-ro (Roth 1897d)
vulva	*binang*	bi-nang (Roth 1897a)

		bi-nang (Roth 1897b) bi-náng (Roth 1897c) pi-náin (Roth 1897d) pi-nang (Roth 1897e)
wrist	*danhdha*	dundha (Dutton 1907)

7.1.2 Human terms/kinship terms

English	Dharumbal	Sources
(aboriginal) man	*gatharr*	kattar (Muller 1886) kattar (Archer 1886) cothar (Dutton 1907) kutthar (Giro onbah 1894) gatar (Holmer 1983) gat^{h}arr (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
	gatha	kat-ta (Roth 1897a) kat-ta (Roth 1897b) ka-ta (Roth 1898) (Rosewood, Yeppoon) kat-ta (Roth 1897d) cubtah/cubtak (Leney 1904)
	atha	at-ta (Roth 1897e)
	mugil	mo-gil (Roth 1897c)
	gulbura	goolboora/cadtharra (Meston n.d.)
(mixed-origin) man	*yarra*	jara (Holmer 1983)
(aboriginal) woman	*gin.gil*	kingil (Muller 1886) kinkil (Archer 1886) kin-kil, yatái-ro (Roth 1897a) kin-kil (Roth 1897b) kin-gil (Roth 1897c) kin-kil (Roth 1897d) gingil (hard) (Meston n.d.) gingel (Dutton 1907) ginggil (Holmer 1983)
	muni	kinkill/mooney (Leney 1904)
	in.gil	in-kil (Roth 1897e) ink^{h}il (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
aunt (father's sister)	*yabu yabu*	ya-bu ya-bu, bin-dí-ru (Roth 1897a)

	bindir	bin-dir (Roth 1897b) bin-dir (Roth 1897d)
aunt (mother's sister)	*nhaya*	nai-ya (Roth 1897a) nai-ya (Roth 1897b) nai-ya (Roth 1897d)
baby	*wuya?*	wooer (Muller 1886)
	gulmu	koolmoo (Archer 1886)
boy at first sign of puberty	*walbara*	wal-pa-ra (Roth 1898)
boy who has had initiation cuts	*guriyi?*	koo-ri-e (Roth 1898) (Rockhampton)
brother	*marang*	mairang (elder) (Muller 1886) maram (Archer 1886) ma-rang (older) (Roth 1897a) ma-ram (Roth 1897b) ma-ra-mi (Roth 1897d)
	wuyiru	wu-yi-ru (younger) (Roth 1897a)
	miganh	migaN (Holmer 1983)
brother-in-law	*nhuparr*	nu-par (Roth 1897a) nu-par (Roth 1897b) nu-par (Roth 1897d)
child(ren)	*wuru*	wooroo (Muller 1886) wurroo (boy) (Dutton 1907) wuṟu (Holmer 1983)
	mathan	mattan (Archer 1886)
	dhapil	thappel (Leney 1904)
daughter	*manbi(a)n*	man-bi-an (Roth 1897a) man-bín (Roth 1897b)
	manbigan	man-bi-gan (Roth 1897d)
daughter-in-law (of a man)	*gambara(gan)*	kam-ba-ra-gan (Roth 1897a) kam-ba-ra (Roth 1897d)
daughter-in-law (of a woman)	*daruan*	ta-ru-an (Roth 1897a)
	manbin	man-bín (Roth 1897b)

	manbigan	man-bi-gan (Roth 1897d)
doctor, clever man	*gudayi*	gudaji (Holmer 1983)
father	*bina*	pena (Muller 1886) bina (Archer 1886) bi-na (Roth 1897a) bi-nar (Roth 1897b) bi-nar (Roth 1897d) bina (Holmer 1983)
father and child	*ngikalibara*	ngikaliba̲ra (Holmer 1983)
father-in-law (of a woman)	*gambara*	kam-ba-ra (Roth 1897a) kam-ba-ra
ghost	*guinh*	guiN (Holmer 1983)
grandfather (mother's father)	*ngathi*	nat-ti (Roth 1897a) nat-ti (Roth 1897b) nat-ti (Roth 1897d) ngathi (Hatfield) ngathi (Donald)
grandfather (father's father)	*bubar*	bu-bar (Roth 1897a) bu-bar (Roth 1897b)
	buwar	pu-war (Roth 1897d)
grandmother (father's mother)	*gukuin*	ko-ko-in (Roth 1897a) ku-kó-in (Roth 1897b) ko-ko-in (Roth 1897d) gugu 'grandmother' (Hatfield)
grandmother (mother's mother)	*gami*	kam-mi (Roth 1897a) kam-mi (Roth 1897b) gami (Hatfield) gami (Donald)
	maram	ma-ram (Roth 1897d)

grandson (son's son)	*garanu*	ka-ra-no (Roth 1897a)
	ngathi (=grandfather)	na-ti (Roth 1897b)
		nat-ti (Roth 1897d)
grandson (daughter's son)	*daru*	ta-ru (Roth 1897a)
	ngathi (=grandfather)	nat-ti (Roth 1897b)
		nat-ti (Roth 1897d)
granddaughter (son's daughter)	*garanuan*	ka-ra-no-an (Roth 1897a)
	ngathian	nat-ti-an (Roth 1897b)
		nat-ti-an (Roth 1897d)
granddaughter (daughter's daughter)	*daruan*	ta-ru-an (Roth 1897a)
	ngathi	nat-ti (Roth 1897b)
	ngathian	nat-ti-an (Roth 1897d)
husband	*nhupa(dharri)*	nu-par (Roth 1897a)
		nu-par (Roth 1897b)
		nu-par (Roth 1897d)
		NupaDari (Holmer 1983)
mother	*nhararu*	nararoo (Muller 1886)
	ngaya	ngeia (Archer 1886)
		ngai-ya (Roth 1897a)
		nai-ya (Roth 1897b)
		nai-ya (Roth 1897d)
		ngaja (Holmer 1983)
mother-in-law (of a man)	*daruan*	ta-ru-an (Roth 1897a)
		ta-ru-an (Roth 1897b)
	bindir	bin-dir (Roth 1897d)
mother-in-law (of a woman)	*daruan*	ta-ru-an (Roth 1897a)
		tai-ru-an (Roth 1897d)
	bindia	bin-dia (Roth 1897b)

niece (brother's daughter)	*manbian*	man-bi-an (Roth 1897a)
	manbin	man-bín (Roth 1897b)
	manbigan	man-bi-gan (Roth 1897d)
niece (sister's daughter)	*nhuingan*	nu-i-ngan (Roth 1897a)
	nhuginan	nu-gin-an (Roth 1897b) ni-gin-an (Roth 1897d)
nephew (brother's son)	*manburu*	man-bu-ru (Roth 1897a)
		man-bu-ru (Roth 1897d)
	wuru	wuru (Roth 1897b)
nephew (sister's son)	*nhuin*	nu-in (Roth 1897a)
	nhugin	nu-gin (Roth 1897b) ni-gin (Roth 1897d)
old man	*baparru* (cf. God)	barparoo (Muller 1886)
	yandari	yantarrie (Archer 1886)
	gulbali	goolbale (Leney 1904)
	mulin	moo-lin (Roth 1898) (Rockhampton)
	mindara	min-da-ra (Roth 1898) (Rockhampton)
old woman	*bapawan*	bapawan (Muller 1886)
	yandarian	yantarrian (Archer 1886)
	mukan	mooken (Leney 1904)
policeman	*marra marra*	mara mara (Holmer 1983)
sister	*maru*	maroo (elder) (Muller 1886)
	maram	maram (Archer 1886)
	ngaburru	na-bu-ru (Roth 1897a) na-bu-ru (Roth 1897b) na-bu-ru (Roth 1897d) ngaburu (Holmer 1983)
sister-in-law	*gin.gil* (=woman)	kin-kil (Roth 1897a)
	gin	gin (Roth 1897b) gen (Roth 1897d)
son	*manburu*	man-bu-ru (Roth 1897a)

		man-bu-ru (Roth 1897d)
	wuru	wuru (Roth 1897b)
		wuru (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
son-in-law (of a man)	*daru*	ta-ru (Roth 1897a)
son-in-law (of a woman)	*daru*	ta-ru (Roth 1897a)
		ta-ru (Roth 1897b)
	manburu	man-bu-ru (Roth 1897d)
uncle (mother's brother)	*ngamu*	ngam-mo (Roth 1897a)
		ngam-mo (Roth 1897d)
	migan	mi-gan (Roth 1897b)
uncle (father's brother)	*bina*	bi-na (Roth 1897a)
		bi-nar (Roth 1897b)
		bi-nar (Roth 1897d)
white man	*dhabun*	taboon (Muller 1886)
		taboom (Archer 1886)
		ta-bun, me-ko-lo (Roth 1897a)
		ta-bun (Roth 1897b)
		ta-bun (Roth 1897d)
		ta-bun (Roth 1897e)
		tarboon (Leney 1904)
		Dabun (Holmer 1983)
		dhavun (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
wife	*gin.gil (=woman)*	kin-kil (Roth 1897a)
	gin(darri)	kin-kil, gin (Roth 1897b)
		gin (Roth 1897d)
		gindari (Holmer 1983)
man who has had nasal septum pierced and is able to marry	*gawula*	ka-woo-la (Roth 1898) (Rockhampton, also Yeppoon, Rosewood?)
		kaola (Muller 1886)
	wuru	wooroo (Archer 1886)

7.1.3 Animals and reptiles

English	Dharumbal	Sources
bandicoot	*gulbilu*	kolpilo (Tindale1938)
crocodile	*wiru*	wi-ru (Roth 1897a)
	daranh	ta-ráin (Roth 1897d)
	daganh	targine (alligator) (Leney 1904)
		dakany (goanna) (Donald)
dingo	*mirhi*	mi-ri (Roth 1897a)
		mi-ri (Roth 1897b)
		mi-ri (Roth 1897c)
		mi-ri (Roth 1897d)
		merree (Meston n.d.)
		meary (native dog) (Leney 1904)
		merri (Muller 1886)
		mirri (Archer 1886)
dog		mir:i (Tindale1938)
		miRi (Holmer 1983)
		mirhi (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
	waranbara	waranbara (Tindale 1938)
echidna	*girrbanh*	ke-ir-vain (Roth 1897a)
		kir-vain (Roth 1897b)
		kir-vain (Roth 1897c)
		kir-van (Roth 1897d)
		girbainj (Tindale1938)
frog	*barraru*	ba-ra-ru (Roth 1897a)
		badaru (Hatfield)
		badaru (Donald)
	ganggayan	kung-gai-an (Roth 1897b)
	bamba	bum-ba (Roth 1897c)
	daran	ta-rán (Roth 1897d)
		da-ran (Roth 1897e)
sand goanna	*marun*	ma-run (unspecified goanna) (Roth 1897a)
		ma-run (unspecified goanna) (Roth 1897c)

		ma-run (unspecified goanna) (Roth 1897d)
		ma-run (unspecified goanna) (Roth 1897e)
		maroon (unspecified goanna) (Meston n.d.)
		maron (Tindale1938)
black goanna	*manal*	manal (Tindale1938)
		ma-nal (unspecified goanna) (Roth 1897b)
horse	*yarraman*	jaraman (Holmer 1983)
		yarraman (Hatfield)
kangaroo	*wura*	woora (Muller 1886)
		boorro (Archer 1886)
		wu-ra (Roth 1897a)
		wu-ra (Roth 1897b)
		wu-ra (Roth 1897c)
		wu-ra (Roth 1897d)
		woora (Meston n.d.)
		woorah (Leney 1904)
		wura (Hatfield)
koala	*walmal*	walmal (Tindale1938)
		wullmull (Leney 1904)
	walpal	wal-pal (Roth 1897d)
	gula	goollar (bear) (Leney 1904)
whiptail kangaroo	*rurrga*	rur-ka (Roth 1897d)
kangaroo rat	*nhaldu*	naltu (Tindale1938)
lizard	*bapuan*	pa-po-an (Roth 1897a)
	dutu	tu-tu (Roth 1897b)
		tu-tu (Roth 1897c)
		to-to (Roth 1897e)
		dhunhdhu 'blue tongue lizard' (Hatfield)
	dararara	ta-rá-ra-ra (Roth 1897d)
frilled lizard	*binarr*	pinar: (Tindale1938)
possum	*nharring*	naring (Muller 1886)

		naring (Archer 1886)
		na-rin (Roth 1897a)
		na-rin (Roth 1897b)
		naring (Tindale1938)
		narree (Meston n.d.)
		waring (Leney 1904)
		Naring (not used on Keppel Is.) (Holmer 1983)
	dilal	dillall (Leney 1904)
sheep	*manggi*	manggi (Holmer 1983)
	wambulu	wam-bu-lu (Roth 1897e)
black snake	*rawarinh*	rawa:rinj (Tindale1938)
		rowe-war-riul (Leney 1904)
	dhalwanh	thalwine (Leney 1904)
brown snake	*guliri*	koliri (Tindale1938)
		cool-ar-ree (Leney 1904)
	balgungar	balkoongar (Leney 1904)
carpet-snake	*dhukirri*	to-ke-ri (Roth 1897a)
		tok:u (Tindale1938)
		doo-coo ree (Leney 1904)
		thoopoo (Leney 1904)
		Dukiri (Holmer 1983)
		tokkirri (Archer 1886)
		tu-ki-ri (Roth 1897b)
		tu-ki-ri (Roth 1897c)
		tu-ki-ri (Roth 1897d)
	diwira	te-wi-ra (Roth 1897a)
	gabul	ka-bul (Roth 1897a)
death adder	*gunhdhurr*	coon-doo (Leney 1904)
		guNDur (Holmer 1983)
	barundun	barondoon (adder) (Leney 1904)
tiger snake	*guyungara*	kojungara (Tindale1938)
whip snake	*yurul*	yourol (Leney 1904)
wallaby	*gathur*	kaiɔo:ru (Tindale1938)

		cathoor (Meston n.d.)
red wallaby	*waru*	warroo (Leney 1904)
rock wallaby	*gunhul*	kunjul (Tindale1938)

7.1.4 Birds

English	Dharumbal	Sources
bird	*duguru*	to-gó-ro (Roth 1897a)
	waran	wa-ran (Roth 1897d)
cockatoo, black	*rirrai* (see also white cockatoo)	rerai (Tindale1938)
	?	olembil (Leney 1904)
cockatoo, white	*wiru*	willoo (Muller 1886)
		wi-rú (Roth 1897a)
		wi-ru (Roth 1897b)
		wi-ru (Roth 1897c)
		wi-ru (Roth 1897d)
	rirrai	ri-dai (Roth 1897e)
	gayagur	kaiagoor (Archer 1886)
		gairgair (cockatoo) (Leney 1904)
crane, giant	*gayiran*	kai-yi-ran (Roth 1897a)
	ruli	ro-li (Roth 1897d)
crow	*wathan*	wathan (Muller 1886)
		wa̲ta:n (Tindale1938)
		wathan (Hatfield)
		watha (Dooley, Cubby)
		wathaan (Donald)
	wagan	wagan (Archer 1886)
		wagan (Holmer 1983)
	dagawulu	tu-ká-wu-lo (Roth 1897a)
	wudaran	wot-ta-ran (Roth 1897a)
	waran	wa-ran (Roth 1897b)
		wa-ran (Roth 1897c)
		wa-ran (Roth 1897e)
	mungayi	mun-kai-i (Roth 1897d)
	wung wung	wongwong (Leney 1904)

duck, black	*baran*	bauon (Muller 1886)
		barran (Archer 1886)
		ba-ran (Roth 1897a)
	gunangara	ba-ran, ku-na-nga-ra (Roth 1897d)
		bara:n (Tindale1938)
duck, whistler	*ginda*	kin-da (Roth 1897a)
	dibin	de-vin (Roth 1897b)
	baran (see also black duck)	ba-ran (Roth 1897c)
	gabulu	ka-bu-bu-lo (Roth 1897d)
	dilmulan	til-mu-lan (Roth 1897d)
	unangari	o-na-nga-ri (Roth 1897e)
	gindangindan	gindangindan (Tindale1938)
duck, wood	*ma*	mah (Archer 1886)
eaglehawk, large	*guriala*	ku-rí-a-la (Roth 1897a)
	gulda	kul-ta (Roth 1897b)
		kul-ta (Roth 1897c)
	ulda	ul-ta (Roth 1897d)
	=crow	wa-gan (Roth 1897e)
	gurithala	kuritjala (Tindale1938)
		gurithala (Hatfield)
		guridhala (Dooley, Cubby)
		gurridhala (Donald)
		goollay (Leney 1904)
emu	*gundulu*	koondaloo (Muller 1886)
		koondooloo (Archer 1886)
		kun-do-lo (Roth 1897a)
		kun-do-lo (Roth 1897b)
		kun-do-lo (Roth 1897c)
		kun-du-lo (Roth 1897d)
		gundulu (Hatfield)
		gundulu (Dooley, Cubby)
		gundulu (Donald)
galah	*buruni*	po-ro-ni (Roth 1897d)
goose	*giabulu*	kiavolo (Leney 1904)
	buli buli, bulun	buli buli, bulun (wild) (Holmer 1983)

hawk, fish	*guthibanh*	guTibaN (Holmer 1983)
hawk, small brown	*bura*	bu-rá-ra (Roth 1897a) boorah (kite hawk) (Leney 1904) bu-rá (Roth 1897b) bu-rá (Roth 1897c)
	biyiyi	bi-yi-yi (Roth 1897a)
	dundayulu	tun-tai-yo-lo (Roth 1897d)
	mara	ma-ra (Roth 1897e)
hawk, sparrow	*galan*	callan (Leney 1904)
kookaburra	*gukubara*	kocaburra (Muller 1886) kookooburra (Archer 1886)
	gakubara	ka-kú-ba-ran (Roth 1897a) ka-ko-ba-ra (Roth 1897d)
	awubari	a-wu-ba-ri (Roth 1897e)
	gakungun	carcoongoon (Leney 1904)
magpie	*ngaburu*	ngaburu (Tindale1938)
	baru	barow (Leney 1904)
mocking bird	*yilbang?*	yilvung (Leney 1904)
native companion	*gurur*	goowar (Muller 1886) koorur (Archer 1886) ku-rú-ru (Roth 1897a) ko-rúrr (Roth 1897d) goror: (Tindale1938)
parrot (unspecified type)	*buguni*	buguni (Holmer 1983)
parrot, blue mountain	*gilil*	kil-lil (Roth 1897a)
	wunggiran	wung-ki-ran (Roth 1897d)
parrot, king	*bibaring?*	beeburing (Leney 1904)
parrot, rosella	*bilbilyan*	pil-pil-yan (Roth 1897a)
	gawuni	ka-wu-ni (Roth 1897d)
	guthiring?	gootering (Leney 1904)
pelican	*guyabula*	kooyabula (Muller 1886)
	bulan	boolan (Archer 1886) bu-lún (Roth 1897d)

		bo-lan (Roth 1897e)
	guyaburu	ku-yá-bu-ru (Roth 1897a)
		kojaburu (Tindale1938)
pigeon	*balbal*	pal-pal (Roth 1897a)
		bullpull (Leney 1904)
		balbal (squatter pigeon) (Leney 1904)
	wunggalan	wung-ka-lan (Roth 1897c)
pigeon, wongo	*?*	woomlabun (Leney 1904)
seagull	*dhira?*	der:a (Tindale1938)
swan	*gurun*	guron (Muller 1886)
	gutul	kootool (Archer 1886)
turkey, plain	*waka*	war-ka (Roth 1897a)
		wa-ka (Roth 1897d)
		war:ka
		wurka (Leney 1904)
	gambal	gumpall (Leney 1904)
turkey, scrub	*wakun*	wakud--? (Tindale1938)
		wahgoon (Leney 1904)
		wockwoon (Leney 1904)
water hen	*buginurang?*	bookinoragh (Leney 1904)
willy wagtail	*dhigirigiri?*	teckerrygerry (Leney 1904)
wren	*dhindhindalum?*	dendendaloom (Leney 1904)

7.1.5 Sea and river creatures

English	Dharumbal	Sources
barramundi	*gurupal*	korup:al (Tindale1938)
bivalve sp.	*baba*	ba-ba (Roth 1898)
bream	*ganhil*	gunyeal (Leney 1904)
catfish	*marukinh*	marukenj (Tindale1938)
	yarangbal?	yarangbarl (Leney 1904)

crab	*wambinh*	wambiN (Holmer 1983) wambein (lobster) (Archer 1886)
crayfish	*ilin* *ila*	elin (Muller 1886) ella (Archer 1886)
eel, freshwater	*duluru* *yinbari* *dula* (=tree)	duluru (Tindale1938) yinbare (eel) (Leney 1904) dula (conger eel) (Holmer 1983)
eel, saltwater	*rungga*	rungga (Tindale1938)
fish	*guya*	gooyar (Muller 1886) kooya (Archer 1886) ku-ya (Roth 1897a) ku-ya (Roth 1897b) ku-ya (Roth 1897c) koja (Tindale1938) guja (Holmer 1983)
	rurun	ru-run (Roth 1897d)
lobster	*guwara*	goowarra (Muller 1886)
mackerel	*nhulaguda*	Nulaguda (Holmer 1983)
mullett	*gural*	goorall (Leney 1904)
oyster	*waku*	waku (Holmer 1983) wa-koo (Roth 1898)
perch	*daku*	duckoo (Leney 1904)
porpoise	*dadhim*	daDim (Holmer 1983)
shark	*gundal gundal*	gundal gundal (Holmer 1983)
turtle	*milbi*	milbee (Leney 1904)
	dhanggui	Danggui (Holmer 1983) tan-go-i (Roth 1898) (sea turtle) tang-go-i (Roth 1898) (any turtle) (Keppel Is.)
	wilun	we-lun (Roth 1898) (sea turtle, Keppel Is.)
	gurawura	koo-ra-oo-ra (Roth 1898) (freshwater turtle)
whale	*muga muga*	muga muga (Holmer 1983)

7.1.6 Insects

English	Dharumbal	Sources
ant	*mupu*	mo-po (Roth 1897a)
		mo-po (Roth 1897c)
	gungaran?	kun-gá-ryan (Roth 1897b)
	guki	ko-ki (Roth 1897d)
bee	*nhul*	noll (Roth 1897a)
	gurara	ku-rú-ra (Roth 1897b)
	nharai	na-rái (Roth 1897c)
	waka	wak-ka (Roth 1897d)
fly	*gurru*	ku-ru (Roth 1897a)
		ku-ru (Roth 1897b)
		ku-ru (Roth 1897c)
		ku-ru (Roth 1897d)
		guru (not used on Keppel Is.) (Holmer 1983)
		ɣurru (Wurm 1995; Terrill 2001)
	urru	o-ru (Roth 1897e)
	apa	ap-pa (Roth 1897e)
mosquito	*uyilang*	u-yi-lang (Roth 1897a)
		u-yi-lang (Roth 1897c)
	gurru (cf. fly)	ku-ru (Roth 1897b)
	urrun (cf. fly)	u-rún (Roth 1897d)
	mingir?	ming-ir (Roth 1897e)
spider	*gara*	ka-ra (Roth 1897a)
		ka-ra (Roth 1897b)
		ka-ra (Roth 1897c)
	ara	a-ra (Roth 1897e)
	bandai	pan-dái-i (Roth 1897d)
sugar-bag	*nhaya*	nai-ya, na-rái (Roth 1897a)
		nai-ya (Roth 1897c)
	nharai (=food)	na-rái (Roth 1897b)
		na-rái (Roth 1897d)

7.1.7 Plants

English	Dharumbal	Sources
Birdsville's acacia	*wanu*	wan-no (Roth 1898)
Aponogeton sp. (a type of aquatic plant)	*warunbil*	wa-roon-bil (Roth 1898)
apple tree, broad-leaved	*barurr*	ba-roor (Roth 1898)
bark of tree	*guka*	kookah (Leney 1904) guka (Holmer 1983)
bloodwood tree	*buni*	boon-i (Leney 1904)
bottle tree	*bin.gi*	pinkee (Leney 1904) beng-gee (Meston n.d.) bin-ki (Roth 1898)
cabbage-tree palm	*gunda*	koon-da (Roth 1898)
cherry, wild	*yawinhub*	ya-win-yob (Roth 1898) (Keppel Is.)
Cissus opaca	*yalun*	ya-loon (Roth 1898)
cucumber, native	*bapa*	pa-pa (Roth 1898)
currant, white	*dulun*	do-lon (Roth 1898) (Keppel Is.)
fig, fig-tree, Leichardt's clustered	*danga*	tangga (Meston n.d.) tung-a (Roth 1898)
fig-tree, rough-leaved	*nuni*	noo-ni (Roth 1898)
flowers	*butil*	bootill (Leney 1904)
forest	*bambara?*	bambara(?) (Tindale 1938)
fruit (green type)	*didun*	didun (Holmer 1983)
fruit (like a white strawberry)	*dhambang*	Dambang (Holmer 1983)
grass	*gara*	currah (Leney 1904)

		ka-rar (Roth 1897a) ka-rar (Roth 1897b) ka-rar (Roth 1897c) kalla (Muller 1886) karra (Archer 1886) gara (Holmer 1983)
	wadham gara	wa-cham ka-rar (Roth 1897d)
grass sp.	*gindurr* *wundurr*	kin-door (Roth 1898) (Rockhampton) wun-dur (Roth 1898) (Keppel Is.)
scrub honeysuckle	*wandun*	wan-doon (Roth 1898) (Keppel Is.)
Leichardt's tree	*duka*	to-ka (Roth 1898)
mangrove	*balban*	bul-pun (Roth 1898)
native scrub lime	*gari*	ka-re (Roth 1898)
pandanus (screw-pine) nut	*wandi*	wan-di (Roth 1898) (Keppel Is.)
plum, sweet	*ranguran*	ran-koo-ran (Roth 1898)
plum, wild	*wumbiwumbi*	om-bo-om-bi (Roth 1898) (Keppel Is.)
pomegranate, small native	*rarum*	ra-roon (Roth 1898)
pomegranate, wild	*mundu*	moon-do (Roth 1898)
raspberry, native	*niram*	ne-ram (Roth 1898)
rush	*gaya*	ki-ya (Roth 1898)
native sorrel	*badam*	badam (Roth 1898)
scrub	*gatal*	katal(?) (Tindale 1938)
scrub-box	*rugunugun*	ro-go-no-gon (Roth 1898)
toadstool, red	*warawara*	wa-ra wa-ra (Roth 1898)
tree/wood	*dula*	bulla (Muller 1886) dutulla (Archer 1886)

		dula (Holmer 1983)
unspec. (bushy tree with red fruit)	*?*	kaug-ha, hoan (Leney 1904)
plantain-leaved bottle tree	*giti*	ke-te (Roth 1898)
grass tree	*gunu*	ko-no (Roth 1898)
grass-tree butt	*ganma*	kun-ma (Roth 1898)
gum tree	*dundula*	tun-doo-lah (Leney 1904)
hoop pine tree	*mapu*	mappoo (Leney 1904)
ironbark tree	*malidu?*	mull-i-doo (Leney 1904)
water-lily (blue, young)	*yaku*	ya-ko (Roth 1898)
water-lily (blue old)	*bamba*	pam-pa (Roth 1898)
water-lily, pink	*nagui*	na-kwi (Roth 1898)
yam (large white)	*guba*	coobah (Leney 1904) koo-ba (Roth 1898) (long yam)
yam (wild)	*bingi?*	bingi? (Tindale1938)
zamia-nut palm	*babu*	ba-bo (Roth 1898)
dwarf zamia	*banga*	bang-a (Roth 1898)

7.1.8 Natural phenomena

English	Dharumbal	Sources
cloud	*gua*	coour (Leney 1904) koa (Tindale1938)
	burum	booroom (Leney 1904)
creek	*guruan*	goroan (Leney 1904)
	dara	tarra (Meston n.d.) ta-ra (Roth 1897a) da-ra (Roth 1897b) da-ra (Roth 1897c)

		ta-ra (Roth 1897d)
	gunbara	kon-ba-ra (Roth 1897e)
day	*garri*	kurry (Dutton 1907)
		katte (Muller 1886)
		gurry (dawn) (Dutton 1907)
		garri (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
	wundayan	woondayan (Archer 1886)
fire	*wi*	wee (Leney 1904)
		wi: (Tindale1938)
		wee (Meston n.d.)
		wee (Dutton 1907)
		wi (Roth 1897a)
		wi (Roth 1897b)
		we (Roth 1897c)
		wi (Roth 1897d)
		we (Roth 1897e)
		wee (Muller 1886)
		wee (Archer 1886)
		wi: (Holmer 1983)
		wi: (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
	ani?	oni (Muller 1886)
	buli	boolee (Leney 1904)
	?	mourn (Leney 1904)
foot-track	*wuma*	womma (Muller 1886)
	barin?	barin (Archer 1886)
	dhina (=foot)	din-ah (Gir-oonbah 1894)
ground	*gapa*	kap:a (Tindale1938)
		kappa (Muller 1886)
		kappa (Archer 1886)
		gapa (Holmer 1983)
		ap^{h}a (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
heat	*balbala*	pelpella (Dutton 1907)
		palpalla (Archer 1886)
	garimal	karremal (Muller 1886)
hole	*yuna*	yu-na (Roth 1897c)

		yuna (Doug Hatfield)
ice	*badla*	budlah (Leney 1904)
lake	*dharing?*	dhuring (Dutton 1907)
light	*gayin*	kain (Archer 1886)
lightning	*?*	tullasafe (Leney 1904)
	dhil?	theel (Leney 1904)
	banda?	bunda (Dutton 1907)
meat	*dhukurr*	tukur: (Tindale1938)
		took-oor (Gir-oonbah 1894)
		Dugur (Holmer 1983)
moon	*ngilan*	nelabe (Leney 1904)
		arlulum (Leney 1904)
		ngilan (Tindale1938)
		eela (Meston n.d.)
		nyil-un (Gir-oonbah 1894)
		nillan (Muller 1886)
		ngillan (Archer 1886)
		ni-lán (Roth 1897b)
		ni-lan (Roth 1897c)
		ni-lan (Roth 1897d)
		ni-lan (Roth 1897a)
	gakarr	ka-kar (Roth 1897a)
		kurka (Dutton 1907)
	bapam	ba-pam (Roth 1897e)
		bap^{h}am (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
	bapa	bapa, bapam (Holmer 1983)
mountain	*wandu*	wanto (Leney 1904)
		wandu (Tindale1938)
		wandoo (Meston n.d.)
		wan-do (Roth 1897a)
		wan-do (Roth 1897b)
		wan-do (Roth 1897c)
		wan-do (Roth 1897d)
		wan-du (Roth 1897e)
night	*gurru*	kurroo (Dutton 1907)

		ku-ro (Roth 1897a)
		ko-ro (Roth 1897b)
		kuo-ro (Roth 1897c)
		ko-ro (Roth 1897d)
		guru (Holmer 1983)
	urru	o-ru (Roth 1897e)
	bandaman	bandaman (Muller 1886)
		koorrio (Archer 1886)
rain	*wari*	waree (Leney 1904)
	yamal	yamang (Dutton 1907)
		yanmal (Muller 1886)
		jamal (Holmer 1983)
		yamal (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
	gal	ka-al (Archer 1886)
	gali	gali (Holmer 1983)
rainbow	*garabi?*	karrarbe (Leney 1904)
	barilbirang?	barilbirang(?) (Tindale1938)
	milguli	milguli (Holmer 1983)
ridges	*mumum* (=breast?)	moomoom (Leney 1904)
river	*bipu*	pip:u: (Tindale1938)
		deepoo (Meston n.d.)
		bipo (Dutton 1907)
road/track	*dambal*	dumpaal (Leney 1904)
saltwater/sea	*guma*	ko:ma (Tindale1938)
		cooma, gallee (Meston n.d.)
		goma (Dutton 1907)
	gurha	guRa (Holmer 1983)
sand	*buliam?*	bulliam (Leney 1904)
scrub	*gabal*	cupaal (Leney 1904)
		kabal (Tindale1938)
sky	*rurundam?*	rorondum (Leney 1904)
	bandara	bandara (Tindale1938)
		bandara (Hatfield)

smoke	*dhuka*	dirkah (Leney 1904)
		tok:a (Tindale1938)
		tooka (Muller 1886)
		taitookka (Archer 1886)
		Duka (Holmer 1983)
	bulin	bullin (Leney 1904)
star	*gandali*	cundullry (Leney 1904)
		kan-da-li (Roth 1897a)
		kandali (Tindale1938)
		kan-ta-li (Roth 1897c)
		kundilly (Dutton 1907)
		kandalle (Muller 1886)
	nhurangan	nu-rá-ngan (Roth 1897b)
	dugunal?	dogunal (Leney 1904)
	?	eiwerrie (Meston n.d.)
	ganhbil	kan-píl (Roth 1897d)
		gaNbil (Holmer 1983)
		kainpil (Archer 1886)
	anhbil	an-bil (Roth 1897e)
stone	*barhi*	barral (Leney 1904)
		bari (Tindale1938)
		baue, balle (Muller 1886)
		barri (Archer 1886)
		baRi (Holmer 1983)
sun	*garhi*	kurree (Leney 1904)
		kari: (Tindale1938)
		kurry (Dutton 1907) (=light)
		garhi (Hatfield)
		ka-re (Roth 1898)
		ka-ri (Roth 1897a)
		ka-ré (Roth 1897b)
		ka-re (Roth 1897c)
		gaRi (Holmer 1983)
		kaue, karre (Muller 1886)
		kan (Roth 1897d)
	ginmin?	ghin-min (Gir-oonbah 1894)
	arhi	a-ri (Roth 1897e)
		ari (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
	ganh	kain (Archer 1886)

	gara	ka-ra (Roth 1898)
swamp	*garrgal*	khar-kal (Dutton 1907)
thunder	*banda*	bundah (Leney 1904)
	dikuru	tekoroo (Muller 1886)
thunder storm	*burrunggai*	booroongai (thunder) (Archer 1886)
		booroongar (Leney 1904)
		burunggai (Holmer 1983)
water	*gadli*	codlee (Leney 1904)
	gali	kal:i (Tindale1938)
		gallee (Meston n.d.)
		kaly (Dutton 1907)
		kul-le (Gir-oonbah 1894)
		kal-li (Roth 1897b)
		kal-li (Roth 1897c)
		kal-li (Roth 1897d)
		kalle (Muller 1886)
		kalli (Archer 1886)
		gali (Holmer 1983)
	ali	al-li (Roth 1897e)
		ali (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
	gamu	kam-mo, kal-li (Roth 1897a)
		como (Leney 1904)
		gamu (Hatfield)
		gamu (Dooley, Cubby)
wind	*gipur?*	kipur (Leney 1904)
	binh?	bean (Leney 1904)
	gadhba	katjpa (Tindale1938)
		kaipa (Muller 1886)
	ganam	kanam (Archer 1886)
	wanan	ganam, wanan (Holmer 1983)

7.1.9 Artefacts

English	Dharumbal	Sources
belongings	*nhugul*	Nugul (Holmer 1983)
belt (possum string)	*gabala*	ka-va-la (Roth 1898)

boomerang	*wangal*	wangal (Tindale1938)
		wa-ngal (Roth 1897a)
		wa-ngal (Roth 1897b)
		wa-ngal (Roth 1897c)
		wa-ngal (Roth 1897d)
		wangal (Holmer 1983)
		wangal (Hatfield)
		wangal (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
bread	*bigarr*	bigar (Holmer 1983)
	ngidhurr	ngiDur (Holmer 1983)
camp	*yamba*	yaampa (Muller 1886)
		jamba (Holmer 1983)
canoe	*winda*	winda (Tindale1938)
		win-ta (Roth 1897d)
		wynda (Muller 1886)
	guka (=bark)	ko-ka (Roth 1897d)
	uka	o-ka (Roth 1897e)
	walu	wal-lo (Roth 1897d)
	ngadul?	andool (Archer 1886)
cement (from grass-tree gum and beeswax)	*danhi*	tun-ni (Roth 1898)
chisel	*yilan*	yel-lun (Roth 1898) (Keppel)
	iram	er-ram (Roth 1898) (Rockhampton)
clay, white	*dakula*	ta-ko-la (Roth 1898)
clothes	*bumbirr*	bumbir (Holmer 1983)
club/nulla nulla/ fighting stick	*bakal*	barkal (Meston n.d.)
		ba-kal (Roth 1897a)
		ba-kal (Roth 1897b)
		ba-kal (Roth 1897c)
		ba-kal (Roth 1897d)
	duba	do-ba (Roth 1897e)
	gunhun	koon-non (Roth 1898)
	dindil	tin-dil? (Roth 1898) (large type)

women's fighting stick	*rangguan*	rung-kwan (Roth 1898)
shaft of nulla nulla	*danda*	tun-da (Roth 1898)
prongs of nulla nulla	*dhambara, yambara*	tum-ba-ra, yum-ba-ra (Roth 1898)
corroboree ground (part of)	*run.ga*	roon-kah (Roth 1898)
	buda	boota (Roth 1898)
boat	*walu*	walu (Holmer 1983)
dilly bag (from grass)	*winam*	winam? (Tindale1938)
		wi-nam (Roth 1897d)
	wulur	wulura (type unspecified) (Tindale1938)
	wakir	wa-kir (Roth 1897a)
		wa-kir (Roth 1897d)
	munda	mun-ta (Roth 1897b)
	bapi	pa-pi (Roth 1897c)
		pa-pi (Roth 1897d)
		pa-pi (Roth 1897e)
dilly-bag (from twine)	*gulgu*	kul-ko (Roth 1897a)
		kul-ko (Roth 1897d)
		kul-ko (Roth 1897c)
	malmari	mal-ma-ri (Roth 1897a)
		mal-ma-ri (Roth 1897d)
drill	*rala*	ral-la (Roth 1898)
drill bit (quartz)	*buran*	boo-ran (Roth 1898)
fibre for drill	*ran*	ran (Roth 1898)
flint	*balu*	ba-lo (Roth 1898)
firestick	*gulburiba*	kool-poor-ri-va (Roth 1898)
fish hook	*iya*	i-ya (Roth 1898)
fishing line	*ganggunh*	gangguN (Holmer 1983)

food	*ngiurr*	ngiur (Tindale 1938)
	mathan daldi?	mattantalti (Archer 1886)
	nharai (=sugar bag)	narrai (Muller 1886)
harpoon dart	*mirin*	me-rin (Roth 1898)
	bangari	bang-a-ri (Roth 1898)
harpoon string	*yirul*	yee-rool (Roth 1898)
	yarul	ya-rool (Roth 1898) (Keppel Is.)
hat	*gunda gunda*	gunda gunda (Holmer 1983)
hut	*dhurra*	tu-ra (permanent) (Roth 1897d)
		du-ra (Roth 1897e)
		Dura (house, camp) (Holmer 1983)
	malu	mal-lo (temporary) (Roth 1897d)
knife	*gakanh*	kakanj (Tindale1938)
	barhi (=stone)	ba-ri (stone knife) (Roth 1897d)
mortar	*gawul*	ka-wool (Roth 1898)
	garin	ka-rin (Roth 1898)
nautilus shell	*yilam*	yel-lum (Roth 1898)
net	*nhulu*	nul-lu (Roth 1897b)
		nul-lo (Roth 1897c)
		nul-lu (Roth 1897d)
		nol-lu (Roth 1897e)
ochre	*gutunu*	ko-to-no (Roth 1898)
oyster stick	*nawul*	na-wool (Roth 1898)
paddle	*buga?*	boga ? (Tindale1938)
	biran	bi-ran (oar) (Roth 1897d)
		be-ran (oar) (Roth 1897e)
pounding-stone	*gundala*	koon-da-la (Roth 1898)
shield	*gulmari*	kulmari (Tindale1938)
		kul-ma-ri (Roth 1897c)
		kul-ma-ri (Roth 1897d)
		koolmare (Muller 1886)

	bura bura	bu-rá-bu-ra, gul-ma-ri (Roth 1897a)
		bu-rá-bu-ra (Roth 1897b)
	rumul	room-mool (Roth 1898)
spear	*ganai*	kanai (Tindale1938)
		ami (Meston n.d.).
		kan-nái (Roth 1897a)
		kan-nai (Roth 1897d)
		kanai (war) (Muller 1886)
		kun-ri (Roth 1898)
	anai	an-nai (Roth 1897e)
	gandura	kan-du-ra(Roth 1897b)
		kan-du-ra(Roth 1897c)
	wuyula	wooyoola (war) (Archer 1886)
	yinili	ye-nel-li (Roth 1898)
		yinila (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
stick for removing bark from tree	*bungga*	boong-ga (Roth 1898)
sword	*barukal*	baruk:al (Tindale1938)
tomahawk	*barunganu*	barunganu (Tindale1938)
	baluin	ba-lu-in (Roth 1897d)
	banganu	ba-nga-nu (Roth 1897d)
	bathur	ba-tyur (Roth 1897e)
	barhi (=stone)	ba-ri (Roth 1897e)
	wagarr	wagar (Muller 1886)
		wagar (Holmer 1983)
	bandara	bandara (Archer 1886)
woomera	*wumia?*	woomeea (Muller 1886)
yamstick	*damba*	tum-ba (Roth 1898) (Keppel Is.)

7.1.10 Miscellaneous

English	Dharumbal	Sources
north	*wanan*	wanan (Tindale1938)
south	*murubinh?*	murubinj? (Tindale1938)

east	*gadhba*	katjpa (Tindale1938)
west	*rumbidala*	rumbidal:a (Tindale1938)
	garinindin	ka-rin-in-din (Roth 1898)
name	*dalburr*	dalbur (Holmer 1983)
a lie	*ngayal*	ngajal (Holmer 1983)
initiation ceremony	*burun*	buru:n (Tindale1938)
totem	*bikanh*	bikanj (Tindale1938)
corroboree	*algal*	al-kal (Roth 1897a)
	uyi	u-yi (Roth 1897a)
		u-yi (Roth 1897d)
		o-yi (Roth 1897e)
God	*baparru* (cf. old man)	bapaḍu (Holmer 1983)
yesterday	*munda*	monda (Muller 1886)
	?	ooinda (Archer 1886)
	gurruyu	guruju (Holmer 1983)
today	*dala*	talla (Muller 1886)
	yarura	yarrura (Archer 1886)
tomorrow	*malagu*	mallago (Archer 1886)
	gurruyu (=yesterday)	guruju (Holmer 1983)
by and by	*giyagu*	keago (Archer 1886)
yes	*ngei*	ngei (Tindale 1938)
	yui	yoy (Roth 1897a)
	yuwi	yowie (Archer 1886)
	ye	ye (Roth 1897b)
	yara	ya-ra (Roth 1897c)
	nhadhu	na-cho, yoy (Roth 1897d)
	?	eh-eh (Muller 1886)
	ya	ja (Holmer 1983)
no	*mama*	mam:a (Tindale 1938)
	rama	ram-ma (Roth 1897a)

		ram-ma (Roth 1897b) ram-ma (Roth 1897c) ram-ma (Roth 1897d)
	yama	yamma (Muller 1886)
	dama	tamma (Archer 1886)
	dharum	Da̲rum (Holmer 1983)
where?	*wunda(ga)*	wyndar (Muller 1886) woondaida (Archer 1886) wundaga (Holmer 1983)
where from?	*wundanham*	wundaNam (Holmer 1983)
where to?	*wundali*	wundali (Holmer 1983)
why?	*minhagu*	miNagu (Holmer 1983)
I don't know	*gamanangi*	kamanangi (Muller 1886) tainmanangi (Archer 1886)

7.1.11 Actions/states

English	Dharumbal	Sources
be afraid	*duluyigi*	dulujigi (Holmer 1983)
get angry	*gulu(i)yigi*	gulu(i)jigi (Holmer 1983) guli (Hatfield) guli (Dooley, Cubby) guli (Donald)
be bad, spoiled	*wali*	wali (Holmer 1983)
bite	*batha*	baTa (Holmer 1983)
bring	*bunda(l)bari, bunda*	bunda(l)ba̲ri, bundali (Holmer 1983)
burn	*wa*	wangi (Holmer 1983)
come	*gawa* *bunda*	kawa (Tindale 1938) bunda (Holmer 1983) boondah baring (come here) (Dutton 1907)

cook	*wa*	wa (Holmer 1983)
cry	*ngiri*	ngiri (Holmer 1983)
cure	*galagan*	galagan (Holmer 1983)
cut	*mupu*	moopoo (Leney 1904)
die	*wadgu* *bumi(ngi)*	watku (Dutton 1907) bumi, bumingi (Holmer 1983)
dress, put on clothes	*bumingali*	bumingali (Holmer 1983)
drink	*dha*	dalla (Muller 1886)
eat	*dha*	dangain (Muller 1886) talta (Archer 1886) dhal (Holmer 1983)
fall	*birra*	bira (Holmer 1983)
feel	*bingara*	bingara (Dutton 1907)
fight	*bathi*	baTiba (Holmer 1983)
give	*wu*	woka (Dutton 1907) wu (Holmer 1983) woka (=wu + IMPER) 'take' (Dutton 1907)
give up	*urunda?*	urunda (Dutton 1907)
go	*ya*	jan:a (go, walk) (Tindale 1938) jan (Holmer 1983) yanah (go away) (Dutton 1907) yanida (Hatfield) yanada (Dooley, Cubby) yan (Donald)
go down, set (the sun)	*nhinda*	Ninda (Holmer 1983)
hear	*bin.girr*	binkir (Dutton 1907)
hit, kill	*bu*	bu (Holmer 1983)
kick	*dhakarr*	Dakar (Holmer 1983)

know	*athu?*	athu (Dutton 1907)
laugh	*wabi*	wabi (Holmer 1983)
leave	*banda*	banda (Holmer 1983)
lie down	*dhanu*	Danu (Holmer 1983)
live	*mundarr*	moondar (Dutton 1907)
make	*mithil?*	mitchel (Dutton 1907)
	bungga	bunggali (Holmer 1983)
	binhaga	biNaga (sit, set, make) (Holmer 1983)
	yaga	jaga(l) (make, do) (Holmer 1983)
pour	*birraga*	biraga (Holmer 1983)
push over	*dhutarr*	Dutar (Holmer 1983)
put down, set down	*dhingiga*	Dingiga (Holmer 1983)
put out (fire)	*wulaga(rr)*	wulaga(r) (Holmer 1983)
run	*malgali*	malkali (Tindale 1938)
		malkali (come) (Archer 1886)
	nulabara?	nola burra (Dutton 1907)
	yanggarri	janggari (Holmer 1983)
see	*nha*	naga (Dutton 1907)
		yanna (Muller 1886)
		nain (Archer 1886)
		Na (Holmer 1983)
		nhagabi (Hatfield)
shout	*ganggali*	ganggali (Holmer 1983)
be sick	*gurhayigi*	guRajigi (Holmer 1983)
sit	*dhi*	teeka (Muller 1886)
		teein (Archer 1886)
		Di (Holmer 1983)
sleep	*gunim*	konin (Muller 1886)
		konimbo (Archer 1886)

		gunim (Holmer 1983)
speak	*ranga dhagura?*	runga thagorra (Dutton 1907)
stand	*nhanh(dh)i*	NaNDi (Holmer 1983)
swallow	*dalgurr*	dalgur (Holmer 1983)
take	*ga*	ga (Holmer 1983)
	ma	man (Holmer 1983)
		manna 'hold' (Dutton 1907)
tell	*dhu*	Dun (Holmer 1983)
throw	*dabi*	dabi (Holmer 1983)
walk	*bili*	billi (Dutton 1907)
		belin (Archer 1886)
want	*yigi*	jigi (Holmer 1983)

7.1.12 Qualities

English	Dharumbal	Sources
able	*galanga*	galanga (Holmer 1983)
angry	*gului*	gului (Holmer 1983)
bad	*waling*	wal-lin (Roth 1897a)
		wal-lin (Roth 1897c)
		wal-lin (Roth 1897d)
		wailim (Archer 1886)
		walim (Dutton 1907)
		waling (Holmer 1983)
		waling (Terill 2001)
	napa	na-pa (Roth 1897b)
	ului	ol-loi (Roth 1897e)
	walgu	walko (Muller 1886)
big	*balgun*	bal-kun (Roth 1897a)
		bal-kun (Roth 1897c)
		pa-kun (Roth 1897d)
		balgun (Holmer 1983)
		balk^{h}un (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)

	nhurin	nu-ren (Roth 1897b)
	wuranh?	woorain (Archer 1886)
black	*gurrurru*	gururu (Holmer 1983)
blind	*mil waling (mil* =eye)	mil waling (Holmer 1983)
cold	*bathal?*	puttail (Muller 1886)
	giru	kirroo (Archer 1886)
	walai	walai (Holmer 1983)
crooked	*wamba wamba* (cf. *wamba* 'mad, silly')	wamba wamba (Holmer 1983)
dark	*gurru*	kooroo (Archer 1886)
		guru (Holmer 1983)
dead	*wathu*	wattoo (Muller 1886)
		wattoo (Archer 1886)
		waTu (Holmer 1983)
deaf	*bina dhanggul*	biNa Danggul (Holmer 1983)
	bina gulum (*bina* =ear)	biNa gulum (Holmer 1983)
good	*balgi*	bal-ki (Roth 1897a)
		bal-ki (Roth 1897c)
		pal-ki (Roth 1897d)
		bal-ki (Roth 1897e)
		garabalki (Muller 1886)
		balki (Archer 1886)
		balki (Dutton 1907)
		balgi (Holmer 1983)
		balk^{h}i, valk^{h}i (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
	galagan	ka-lárn (Roth 1897b)
		galagan (Holmer 1983)
hungry	*bapul*	bapool (Muller 1886)
	garaman?	kramman (Archer 1886)
little	*wanhbirr*	wain-ber (Roth 1897a)
		wain-ber (Roth 1897b)

		wain-ber (Roth 1897c)
	gurga	kur-ka (Roth 1897d)
	gangulgurr	kangoolkor (Archer 1886)
	gurra	kooraing (Muller 1886)
		gura (Holmer 1983)
	urra	or-ra (Roth 1897e)
		urra (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001)
long, tall	*gurran*	guran (Holmer 1983)
mad, silly	*wamba*	wamba (Hatfield)
	(cf. crooked)	wamba (Donald)
other	*nhuli*	noli (Dutton 1907)
poor	*balgi wilbar?*	bulkee-whirlbarr (Leney 1904)
	(balgi =good*)*	
same	*banha?*	bunya (Dutton 1907)
sick, sore	*gurha*	guRa (Holmer 1983)
sweet	*gatham*	kattam (Muller 1886)
	balgi (=good)	balki (Archer 1886)
thirsty	*dukul*	tookul (Muller 1886)
	wulanh?	woolain (Archer 1886)
very	*yara*	jara (Holmer 1983)
wet	*dhana*	Dana (Holmer 1983)
white	*dharidhi*	DariDi (Holmer 1983)

7.1.13 Numbers/amounts

English	Dharumbal	Sources
one	*warba*	wur-pah (Leney 1904)
		warupa (Tindale 1938)
		walba (Meston n.d.)
		wipa (Dutton 1907)
		onegan (Muller 1886)
		werpa (Archer 1886)
		warba (Holmer 1983)

two	*bulari*	bulli-revull (Leney 1904) bulari (Tindale 1938) boolaree (Meston n.d.) bowlari (Dutton 1907) bullari (Archer 1886) bulari (Wurm 1955; Terrill 2001) blaue (Muller 1886)
	bulagul	bulagul, bulari (Holmer 1983) bularu (Hatfield) bularu (Dooley, Cubby)
three	*bulari-warba*	bulli-revull wurpah (Leney 1904) bullariwerpa (Archer 1886) warpa (Dutton 1907) karukoinj ? (Tindale 1938)
	ganggu	anggo (Meston n.d.) kango (Muller 1886)
four	*bulari bulari*	bulli-revull bulli-revull (Leney 1904) blaue warpar (Muller 1886) blay-blay (Meston n.d.) kngowo (Dutton 1907)
	ganggundi? (cf. three)	kangoondie (Archer 1886)
five	*maldan*	maltan (Leney 1904) mattan (Meston n.d.)
six	*maldan warba*	maltan wurpah (Leney 1904)
seven	*maldan bulari*	maltan bulli rie (Leney 1904)
eight	*maldan maldan*	maltan maltan (Leney 1904)
nine	*maldan maldan warba*	maltan maltan wurpah (Leney 1904)
ten	*gungu*	kong-hoo (Leney 1904)
many	*nguranh*	nguranj (Tindale 1938) nooraing (plenty) (Muller 1886) noorang (=five) (Dutton 1907) woorain (plenty) (Archer 1886)

	bural	bural (plenty) (Holmer 1983)
none	*amna?*	amna (Dutton 1907)
some	*wuka*	woka (Dutton 1907)

7.1.14 Locationals

English	Dharumbal	Sources
over there	*banhagai*	baNagai (Holmer 1983)
	barragu	baragu (Holmer 1983)
from over there	*banhagam, barragam*	baNagam/baragam (Holmer 1983)
	barranham	baraNam (Holmer 1983)
back	*batha*	baTa (Holmer 1983)
here, hither	*dhirragu*	Diragu (Holmer 1983)
	yirragu	jiragu (Holmer 1983)
from here	*yirrangam*	jirangam (Holmer 1983)

7.1.15 Place names

English	Dharumbal	Sources
Fitzroy	*dunura?, gunba*	toonora, goonba ? (Meston n.d.)
Emu Park	*wupal*	gopal (Meston n.d.)
		wupal (Holmer 1983)
Yamba	*yimbu?*	yeemybo (Meston n.d.)
Gracemere	*badhul?*	padthool (Meston n.d.)
North Keppel Island	*ganumi*	ganumi (Holmer 1983)
an island (unspecified)	*wapabara*	wapabara (Holmer 1983)

7.2 Dharumbal–English alphabetical word list

A

Dharumbal	English
algal	corroboree
ali	water
amna?	none
anai	spear
anhbil	star
anu	chin
anun	beard
apa	fly
ara	spider
arhi	sun
atha	man (aboriginal)
athu?	know
awubari	kookaburra

B

baba	bivalve sp.
babu	zamia-nut palm
badam	native sorrel
badhul?	Gracemere
badla	ice
bakal	club/nulla nulla/ fighting stick
bakul	ankle, leg
balbal	pigeon
balbala	heat
balban	mangrove
balgi	fat, good, sweet
balgi wilbar?	poor
balgun	big
balgungar	snake, brown
balngan	fingers
balu	flint
baluin	tomahawk
bamba	frog
bamba	water-lily (blue old)
bambara?	forest
banda	leave
banda	thunder
banda?	lightning
bandai	spider
bandaman	night
bandara	sky
bandara	tomahawk
banga	dwarf zamia
bangan	hand
banganu	tomahawk
bangari	harpoon dart
bangga	gap between teeth
banha?	same
banhagai	over there
banhagam	from over there
bapa	cucumber, native
bapa	moon
bapam	moon
baparru	God
baparru	old man
bapawan	old woman
bapi	dilly bag (from grass)
bapuan	lizard
bapul	hungry
baran	duck (black, whistler)
barang	loins
barhi	stone, knife, tomahawk
barilbirang?	rainbow
barin?	foot-track
barragam	from over there
barragu	over there
barranham	from over there
barraru	frog
baru	magpie
barukal	sword
barundun	death adder
barunganu	tomahawk

barurr	apple tree, broad-leaved
batha	back
batha	bite
bathal?	cold
bathi	fight
bathur	tomahawk
batu	buttocks
bi	leg
bibaring?	parrot, king
bigai	nail
bigarr	bread
bikal	knee
bikanh	totem
bilbilyan	parrot, rosella
bili	walk
bimbi	neck
bin.gi	bottle tree
bin.girr	hear
bina	father, uncle (father's brother)
binang	vulva
binarr	frilled lizard
bindia	mother-in-law (of a woman)
bindir	aunt (father's sister)
bindir	mother-in-law (of a man)
bingara	feel
bingi?	yam (wild)
bina	ear
binha dhanggul	deaf
binha gulum	deaf
binhaga	make
binh?	wind
bipu	river
biran	paddle
birra	fall
birraga	pour
biru	hand
biyiyi	hawk, small brown
bu	hit, kill
bubar	grandfather (father's father)
buda	corroboree ground (part of)
buga?	paddle
buginurang?	water hen
buguni	parrot (unspecified type)
bulagul	two
bulan	pelican
bulari	two
bulari bulari	four
bulari-warba	three
buli	fire
buli buli	goose
buliam?	sand
bulin	smoke
bulu	belly
bulun	goose
bumbirr	clothes
bumi(ngi)	die
bumingali	dress, put on clothes
bunda	come
bunda(l)bari	bring
bunda	bring
bungga	stick for removing bark from tree
bungga	make
buni	bloodwood tree
bura	hawk, small brown
bura bura	shield
bural	many
buran	drill bit (quartz)
burrunggai	thunder storm
burum	cloud
burun	initiation ceremony
buruni	galah
butil	flowers
butu	buttocks
buwar	grandfather (father's father)

D

dabi throw
dadhim porpoise
daganh crocodile
dagawulu crow
daku perch
dakula clay, white
dala today
dalang tongue
dalburr name
dalgurr swallow
dama no
damba yamstick
dambal road/track
danda shaft of nulla nulla
danga fig, fig-tree, Leichardt's clustered
dangga mouth
danhdha wrist
danhi cement (from grass-tree gum and beeswax)
dara creek
dara hair
daran frog
daranh crocodile
dararara lizard
daru grandson (daughter's son)
daru son-in-law (of a man)
daruan daughter-in-law (of a woman)
daruan grand-daughter (daughter's daughter)
daruan mother-in-law
dibin duck, whistler
didun fruit (green type)
dikuru thunder
dil buttocks
dilal possum
dilmulan duck, whistler
dilu bone
dinan eyebrow
dindil club/nulla nulla/ fighting stick
dindil umbilicus
din.gu forehead
dinil umbilicus
dira teeth
diwira carpet snake
duba club/nulla nulla/ fighting stick
dugunal? star
duguru bird
duka Leichardt's tree
dukul thirsty
dula tree/wood
dula eel, freshwater
dulgu heart
dulun currant, white
duluru eel, freshwater
duluyigi afraid (V)
dundayulu hawk, small brown
dundula gum tree
dundun arm
dunggal penis
dunura? Fitzroy
dutu lizard

DH

dha eat, drink
dhabun white man
dhakarr kick
dhalanh tongue
dhalwanh snake, black
dhambang fruit (like a white strawberry)
dhambara prongs of nulla nulla
dhana wet
dhanggui turtle
dhanu lie down
dhapil child(ren)

dharha	leg
dharha	thigh
dharidhi	white
dharing?	lake
dharum	no
dhi	sit
dhigirigiri?	willy wagtail
dhil?	lightning
dhindhindalum?	wren
dhingiga	put down, set down
dhina	foot
dhina	foot-track
dhira?	seagull
dhirragu	here, hither
dhuka	smoke
dhukirri	carpet-snake
dhukurr	meat
dhu	tell
dhurra	hut
dhutarr	push over

G

ga	take
gabal	scrub
gabala	belt (possum string)
gabul	carpet snake
gabulu	duck, whistler
gaburu	urine
gadli	water
gadhba	east
gadhba	wind
gagiran	knee
gakanh	knife
gakarr	moon
gakubara	kookaburra
gakungun	kookaburra
gal	leg
gal	rain
galagan	cure
galagan	good
galan	hawk, sparrow
galanga	able
gali	forehead
gali	rain, water
gam	hair, head
gamanangi	know, not (I don't know)
gambal	turkey, plain
gambanh	hair
gambara	father-in-law (of a woman)
gambara(gan)	daughter-in-law (of a man)
gami	grandmother (mother's mother)
gamu	water
ganai	spear
ganam	wind
gandali	star
gandura	spear
gangga	beard
ganggali	shout
ganggayan	frog
ganggu	three
ganggundi?	four
ganggunh	fishing line
gangulgurr	little
ganhbil	star
ganhil	bream
ganma	grass-tree butt
ganumi	North Keppel Island
ganh	mouth
ganh	sun
gapa	ground
gara	grass
gara	sun
gara	spider
garabi?	rainbow
garaman?	hungry
garanu	grandson (son's son)
garanuan	grand-daughter (son's daughter)
garhi	sun
gari	native scrub lime
garimal	heat

garin mortar
garinindin west
garrgal swamp
garri day
gatal scrub
gatha man (aboriginal)
gatham sweet
gatharr man (aboriginal)
gathur wallaby
gawa come
gawula young man; man who has had nasal septum pierced and is able to marry
gawul mortar
gawun blood
gawuni parrot, rosella
gaya rush
gayagur cockatoo, white
gayin light
gayiran crane, giant
giabulu goose
gilil parrot, blue mountain
gin sister-in-law
gindangindan whistler duck
gin(darri) wife
ginda duck, whistler
gindurr grass sp.
gin.gil wife, woman (aboriginal), sister-in-law
ginmin? sun
gipa liver
gipur? wind
gira teeth
girrbanh echidna
giru cold
giti plantain-leaved bottle tree
giyagu by and by
gua cloud
guana belly
guba yam (large white)
gudayi doctor, clever man
guini arm
guinh ghost
guka bark of tree
guka canoe
guki ant
gukubara kookaburra
gukuin grandmother (father's mother)
gula koala
gulbali old man
gulbilu bandicoot
gulbura man (aboriginal)
gulburiba firestick
gulburr egg
gulda eaglehawk
gulgu dilly-bag (from twine)
gulgul arm, elbow
guliri snake, brown
gulmari shield
gulmu baby
gulu(i)yigi get angry
gului angry
guma saltwater/sea
gunan bowels
gunangara duck, black
gunba Fitzroy
gunbara creek
gunda cabbage-tree palm
gunda gunda hat
gundal gundal shark
gundala pounding-stone
gundulu emu
gungaran? ant
gunggal back(bone)
gungu ten
guna excrement
gunang excrement
gunhdhurr death adder

gunhul	rock wallaby
gunhun	club/nulla nulla/ fighting stick
gunim	sleep
gunu	grass tree
gural	mullett
gurara	bee
gurawura	turtle
gurga	little
gurha	saltwater/sea
gurha	sick, sore
gurhayigi	sick (V)
guriala	eaglehawk, large
gurithala	eaglehawk
guriyi?	boy who has had initiation cuts
gurra	little
gurran	long, tall
gurrgu	umbilicus
gurru	fly, mosquito
gurru	night, dark
gurrurru	black
gurruyu	tomorrow, yesterday
guruan	creek
gurun	swan
gurupal	barramundi
gurur	native companion
gurui	bowels
guthibanh	hawk, fish
guthiring?	parrot, rosella
gutul	back(bone)
gutul	swan
gutunu	ochre
guwara	lobster
guya	fish
guyabula	pelican
guyaburu	pelican
guyungara	tiger snake

I

ila	crayfish
ilin	crayfish
ilu	bone
in.gil	woman (aboriginal)
ira	teeth
iram	chisel
irrgal	shoulder
iya	fish hook

M

ma	duck, wood
malagu	tomorrow
maldan	five
maldan bulari	seven
maldan maldan	eight
maldan maldan warba	nine
maldan warba	six
malgali	run
malidu?	ironbark tree
malmari	dilly-bag (from twine)
malu	hut
mam	breast
mama	no
ma	take
ma	hold
manal	goanna, black
manam	hair
manam	head
manbi(a)n	daughter
manbian	niece (brother's daughter)
manbigan	daughter, daughter-in-law (of a woman), niece (brother's daughter)
manbin	daughter-in-law (of a woman), niece (brother's daughter)
manburu	son, son-in-law (of a woman), nephew (brother's son)
manggi	sheep
manguri	ear
mapu	hoop pine tree

mara hawk, small brown
maram grandmother (mother's mother)
maram sister
marang brother
marra marra policeman
maru sister
marukinh catfish
marun sand goanna
mathan child(ren)
mathan daldi? food
mathin ankle
maybal arm
migan uncle (mother's brother)
miganh brother
mil eye
mil waling blind
milbi turtle
milguli rainbow
mindara old man
mingir? mosquito
minhagu why?
mirhi dog, dingo
mirin harpoon dart
mithil? make
muga muga whale
mugil man (aboriginal)
mukan old woman
muku cheek
mulin old man
mumum ridges
munda dilly bag (from grass)
munda yesterday
mundarr live
mundu pomegranate, wild
mungan arm
mungayi crow
muni woman (aboriginal)
munu lip
mununhan moustache
mupu ant
mupu cut
murrgin thumb
murubinh? south

N

nagui water-lily, pink
nala nostril
napa bad
nawul oyster stick
niram raspberry, native
nira teeth
nhirrgal shoulder
nulabara? run
nuni fig-tree, rough-leaved

NH

nha see
nhadhu yes
nhaya sugar-bag
nhaldu kangaroo rat
nhanh(dh)i stand
nharai bee, sugar-bag, food
nhararu mother
nharring possum
ngathi grand-daughter (daughter's daughter)
ngathi grandson (son's son)
ngathian grand-daughter (daughter's daughter, son's daughter)
nhaya aunt (mother's sister)
nhinda go down, set (the sun)
nhiri buttocks
nhugin nephew (sister's son)
nhuginan niece (sister's daughter)
nhugul belongings
nhuin nephew (sister's son)

nhuingan	niece (sister's daughter)
nhul	bee
nhulaguda	mackerel
nhuli	other
nhulu	net
nhuman	skin
nhupa(dharri)	husband
nhuparr	brother-in-law
nhurangan	star
nhurin	big

NG

ngaburru	sister
ngaburu	magpie
ngadul?	canoe
ngamba	breast, chest
ngamu	uncle (mother's brother)
ngamun	breast
ngan.ga	beard, chin
ngarhi	hair, head
ngathi	grandfather (mother's father)
ngaya	mother
ngayal	lie (N)
ngei	yes
ngidhurr	bread
ngikalibara	father and child
ngilan	moon
ngili	hand
ngiri	cry
ngiurr	food
ngukun	shoulder
nguranh	many

R

raranh	bowels
rumbidala	west
rumul	shield
run.ga	corroboree ground (part of)
rungga	eel, saltwater
rurrga	whiptail kangaroo
rurun	fish
rurundam?	sky

U

uka	canoe
ukal	elbow
ulda	eaglehawk
ului	bad
uma	blood
umal	blood
unangari	duck, whistler
ungal	back(bone)
unggal	back(bone)
ura	umbilicus
urra	little
urru	fly
urru	night
urrun	mosquito
urunda?	give up
uyi	corroboree
uyilang	mosquito

W

wa	cook
wabi	laugh
wadgu	die
wadham gara	grass
wagan	crow
wagarr	tomahawk
waka	bee
waka	knee
waka	turkey, plain
wakir	dilly-bag (from grass)
waku	oyster
wakun	turkey, scrub
walai	cold
walbara	boy at first sign of puberty
walga	flank

walgu bad
wali bad, spoiled (V)
waling bad
walmal koala
walpal koala
walu boat, canoe
wamba mad, silly
wamba wamba crooked
wambal arm
wambinh crab
wambulu sheep
wanan north
wanan wind
wandi pandanus (screw-pine) nut
wandu mountain
wandun scrub honeysuckle
wangal boomerang
wangga heart
wanhbirr little
wanu Birdsville's acacia
wapabara island (unspecified)
waran bird, crow
waranbara dingo
warawara toadstool (red)
warba one
wari rain
waru red wallaby
warun head of hair
warunbil Aponogeton sp. (type of aquatic plant)
wathan crow
wathu dead
wi fire
wilun turtle
winam dilly-bag (from grass)
winda canoe
wiru cockatoo, white
wiru crocodile
wu give
wu take
wudaran crow
wuka some
wul ankle
wulaga(rr) put out (fire)
wulanh? thirsty
wulman leg
wulur dilly-bag (from grass)
wuma foot-track
wumba neck
wumbiwumbi plum, wild
wumia? woomera
wunda(ga) where?
wundali where to?
wundanham where from?
wundayan day
wundurr grass sp.
wung wung crow
wunggalan pigeon
wunggiran parrot, blue mountain
wupal Emu Park
wura kangaroo
wuranh? big
wurhu nose
wuru child(ren)
wuru nephew (brother's son), son, young man
wurhu yuna nostril (lit. nose hole)
wuya? baby
wuyiru brother
wuyula spear

Y

ya yes
yabu yabu aunt (father's sister)
yaga make
yakil nail
yaku water-lily (blue, young)

yali	forehead
yalun	*Cissus opaca*
yama	no
yamal	rain
yamba	camp
yambara	prongs of nulla nulla
ya	go
yandari	old man
yandarian	old woman
yanggarri	run
yara	very
yara	yes
yarangbal?	catfish
yarra	man (mixed-origin)
yarraman	horse
yarul	harpoon string
yarura	today
yawinhub	cherry, wild
yawu, murrgin	penis
ye	yes
yigi	want
yilam	nautilus shell
yilan	chisel
yilang	chest
yilbang?	mocking bird
yimbu?	Yamba
yinbari	eel, freshwater
yinili	spear
yirragu	here, hither
yirrangam	from here
yirul	harpoon string
yuna	nostril
yuna)	umbilicus
yuna	hole
yundu	eyebrow
yurul	whip snake
yui	yes

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Dharumbal is the language associated with the area around Rockhampton, in eastern Queensland. Structurally, Dharumbal is in many ways typical of what are generally known as Pama-Nyungan languages. It is particularly notable in the extreme conservatism of its morpho-syntax, while at the same time it has the unusual feature in this area of a phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops. This work is based on earlier written and taped materials on Dharumbal, as well as primary fieldwork carried out by the author. It aims to be a comprehensive synthesis of all available information on the Dharumbal language, and as such is intended to be a useful resource for Dharumbal people, linguists, and other people interested in the language of Rockhampton.

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